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SIR ROBERT MANSEL, KT., ADMIRAL OF THE NARROW SEAS.

B. 1573. Ob. 1656.

Painted 1615. *(Penrice Collection.)*

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF MAUNSELL—MANSELL—MANSEL

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF MAUNSELL (MANSELL, MANSEL)

¶ COMPILED CHIEFLY FROM DATA COLLECTED DURING MANY YEARS BY COLONEL CHARLES A. MAUNSELL ¶ WRITTEN BY EDWARD PHILLIPS STATHAM RETIRED COMMANDER R.N. AUTHOR OF 'THE STORY OF THE BRITANNIA', 'PRIVATEERS AND PRIVATEERING', ETC. AND JOINT-AUTHOR OF 'THE HOUSE OF HOWARD' ¶ WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME ONE

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL TRENCH & CO. LIMITED
BROADWAY HOUSE CARTER LANE E.C. MCMXVII

1552367

IN MEMORIAM

It is proposed to insert at the end of the Second Volume a chapter in memory of members of the family, and of near kinsmen, who have lost their lives in the present War. Those who are interested in this matter are requested to communicate with full particulars to

COLONEL MAUNSELL,

Junior United Service Club,

Charles St., St. James's, S.W. 1.

FOREWORD

By Colonel C. A. Maunsell

IN presenting the first volume of this history to the family, I deem it my duty to thank the subscribers for the great patience and consideration which they have shown towards me during the past few years.

The collecting of records which extend back to the time of the Conquest, and some even before that period—for there are still Maunsells in Brittany who claim relationship—has been a long and tedious process, entailing considerable expense. To me, however, it has been a labour of love and a most interesting pastime.

My thanks are due to the various members of the family, and to others who have so cordially assisted me with notes, pictures, and portraits, thus enabling me to reproduce a large number of portraits of great interest to the present members of the family, and which will be of unquestionable interest to those who succeed us.

Whilst making this collection I was struck by the facility with which family portraits go astray and get lost, how difficult it is to trace them, and the necessity of having them reproduced in a form easily preserved.

My thanks are particularly due to MRS. R. G. MAUNSELL, relict of Mr. R. G. Maunsell, the author of the most comprehensive and reliable history of the family which has as yet appeared, and which has been of the greatest service in compiling the present work, Mrs. Maunsell having placed the work at my entire disposal for such use as might best be made of it.

To CANON MANSEL PLEYDELL I am indebted for the valuable notes made by his gallant son, the late Lt. Evan Morton Mansel Pleydell, Royal Horse Artillery; this young officer appears to have been a born genealogist, giving chapter and verse for all his statements.

To MISS CHARLOTTE TALBOT of Margam I am indebted for permission to reproduce the family pictures at Penrice Castle and many views of Margam; to her cousins, MR. and MRS. THOMAS MANSEL FRANKLEN, of St. Hilary, Gower, Glamorgan, and to MRS. [illegible] at Bassit House, [illegible], I am also deeply indebted.

To the late CAPT. EUSTACE GAMBIER MANSEL, Chinnor Hill, Oxford, I am indebted for permission to reproduce the "Mansel Achievement," in itself an interesting pictorial history which he had carefully designed.

To DR. WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., I owe thanks for much valuable advice, and permission to use the handsome pictures which appear in his "History of Margam Abbey."

To COMMANDER STATHAM, R.N. (retired), the author of this history, I am most deeply indebted. I take this opportunity to return him my most sincere thanks, and I feel that in anticipation I may tender him the thanks of every member of the Mansel or Maunsell family, for the untiring energy and industry which he has displayed in carrying out almost unceasing researches; and I desire to record that for every statement of fact in the following pages he has the warrant of some original contemporary document or documents, or, where these were unobtainable, of the best historical evidence available. Many of such authorities are referred to in the course of the text or in the footnotes; when this is not the case, the statements are as a rule based on the *Calendar of State Papers*, or on the original documents themselves therein referred to.

I am indebted to MISS GRACE G. HADDOW, of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Miss Haddow, who is an accomplished historian, has given me most valuable and well-authenticated notes on the history of England during the turbulent reign of Henry III., when Sir John Maunsell was his Chancellor, faithful friend, and adviser.

To MR. WM. SWAN SONNENSCHEIN, senior Managing Director of my publishing firm, I am amply indebted for friendly advice and the interest he has taken in the history, and for placing at my disposal on many occasions the services of Mr. Francis Lucarotti, to whose artistic skill I am indebted for many hints regarding the reproduction of the beautiful coloured portraits and pictures of family places which are now for the first time presented, and which I trust the members of the family will duly appreciate.

My thanks are due to LORD DE LISLE AND DUDLEY for permission to reproduce the portrait of Barbara Gamage (Lady Leicester), and her children, including Lady Katherine Mansel.

To LADY AMY MAUNSELL, of Burghclere and Ballywilliams, for assistance and advice.

To JULIA, LADY MANSEL, of Catton House, Norwich, for permission to reproduce several portraits.

To SIR COURTENAY CECIL MANSEL, BART., The Manor,

To CHRISTOPHER A. MARKHAM, ESQ., The Garth, Dallington, Northampton, for permission to reproduce the picture of the Hatchments at Thorpe Malsor Hall.

To MR. DAVID ROSS MCCORD, K.C., the McCord Museum, Montreal, for much assistance and advice, and permission to reproduce pictures and portraits.

To THE REV. MAUNSELL VAN RENSALLER, 809, Ocean Avenue, Connecticut, U.S.A., for permission to reproduce the portrait of Major-General John Maunsell.

To COL. CHARLES GRANVILLE MANSEL, late 23rd Cavalry, Indian Army, Crocks, Bentley, Hants, for pictures and notes on the Mansels of Sketty and Lathbury.

To THE REV. CANON OWEN CARR, The Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne, for permission to reproduce portraits, etc.

To MISS EVA KISLING, for portraits, etc.

To MR. THOMAS MANSEL FRANKLEN, Barrister-at-Law, St. Hilary, Cowbridge, Glamorgan, the thanks of the entire family are due for his persistent efforts to preserve ancient monuments in Glamorgan, more particularly the beautiful entrance to Beaupre and the Mansel-Basset Tomb at Llantrithyd.

To MR. MANSELL, Guernsey, I am indebted for portraits of the Mansels of Guernsey.

To THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, for permission to reproduce the brass of Dame Mary Fortescue (Darrell), 1598, at Faulkbourne.

To THE KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, for permission to reproduce Bilsington Priory.

To MRS. LANGTON, Teeton Hall, Northamptonshire, for permission to reproduce the Funeral Banner of George Hill.

To MESSRS. MITCHELL, HUGHES & CLARK, for permission to reproduce the Arms of Thomas Ridgate Maunsell, Esq., from *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*.

To MESSRS. HENRY GRAVES & CO., for permission to reproduce the portrait of George Pleydell Mansell of Smedmore.

To MR. W. SHAWCROSS, for permission to reproduce the Castle Keep, Guildford.

To MISS WASEY, Erdleigh, Newbury, Wilts., for permission to reproduce the portrait of Lord Cullen.

To MRS. MALLOCK, Friar Mayne House, Broadmayne, Dorchester, for permission to reproduce portrait of Col. Morton Grove Mansel.

To MRS. SPERLING, Coombe Trenchard, New Down, N. Devon, for permission to reproduce the portrait of The Hon. Mrs. L. A. Grant.

To THE LIBRARIAN, Cardiff Public Library, for permission to reproduce Gabriel Ogilvy's French Pedigree.

To MR. H. F. WALLER-BRIDGE, for permission to reproduce the portrait of Lady Catherine Hare, and others.

To ARCHDEACON ARMSTRONG HALL, Methley Rectory, Leeds, for archæological notes on the Maunsell Chapel in the Church at Darrington, Yorkshire.

To MISS GRANT, of Grant, Tighnamard, Craignanan, Helensburgh, for permission to reproduce the portrait of James, Sixth Lord Seafield.

To MISS MANSEL, Cobb Cottage, Lower Bourne, Farnham, for portraits and notes relating to the Cosgrove Mansells.

My thanks are also due to MR. HUBERT HALL, of H.M. Public Record Office, and to MR. BICKLEY, of the British Museum, for assistance willingly rendered.

My thanks are due to the Chairman, SIR E. GOULDING, BART., SIR WM. PORTER, BART., and more particularly to the President and Members of the LIBRARY COMMITTEE, CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB, Northumberland Avenue, for the kindness and unceasing assistance which I have received at their hands, and the aid furnished by the splendid collection of books of reference contained in this library.

When I was fortunate enough to induce Commander Statham, a naval expert of no mean authority, to undertake the authorship of this history, my ideas and aspirations were, and have been, fulfilled in having obtained the pen of a naval expert and officer who I feel certain will, in due course, do full and ample justice to the history of such soldier-sailors as:

Sir Thomas Maunsell, who, in the *Trinity*, the flagship of the squadron which laid siege to Pembroke Castle during the Wars of the Roses, captured the Governor, Sir John Skydmore (brother-in-law of Philip Mansel, of Oxwich).

Sir Rhys Mansell.

Sir Robert Mansel, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, who had the

Alexandretta), and affords the reader a slight insight into the history of the Second Crusaders, *temp.* Henry II. Then he carries us through the turbulent reign of the vacillating and spendthrift King Henry III.; the expedition to Northern Italy in aid of Frederick II. of Germany; into Sicily and Gascony, and so on to the "Mad Parliament"; and the Barons' Wars.

Then he leads us on to the battlefields of the warrior King Edward III., to Saint Crispin's day, and on to the Wars of the Roses, having first given a brief sketch of the romantic story of the conquest of Glamorgan by Fitzamon and his twelve knights; the conquest of Gower by de Novo Mercato, then on to the turbulent times of the autocratic Tudors and Henry VIII., the war in Flanders, the rebellion of "Silken Tom," and the fall of the Geraldines; back again to the wars with France and Scotland—the great Tudor autocrat well understood the value of sea-power, as also did his daughter, the Virgin Queen—the sad episodes of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the Pilgrimage of Grace. Then again back into that seething cauldron of misrule and sedition, Ireland, for the quelling of another rebellion, that of Tyrone, the battles of Carrickfergus and Yellow River, which led up to the romantic flight of "the Earls," further into the reign of Elizabeth and James I., the expedition to the Isles, Cadiz, the embassy to Spain, the advent of the first British fleet which ever entered the Mediterranean, and the stormy battles of the Narrow Seas.

And so ends Volume I., an interesting narrative of stirring times in which the incidents are well verified by means of references and dates; nor does the Author advance as proofs things which are not proofs but only evidences in his favour.

These remarks and acknowledgments I feel are due from me. The scope of the book, and the difficulties which beset the genealogist of an ancient family, are more fully set forth in the Author's preface.

PREFACE

THIS History of the family of Maunsell, or Mansell, or Mansel, has been compiled in great part from an immense mass of records, etc., which have been collated during a number of years, chiefly through the untiring efforts of Colonel Charles A. Maunsell, supplemented by careful independent research, and the adoption, after minute investigation and scrutiny, of such matter as has been found reliable in the writings of some members of the family, and others.

The scope of the work comprises a complete genealogical record of the family in all its branches, together with a full narrative account of the lives and doings of the more prominent members thereof.

The difficulty of this undertaking, from the genealogical point of view, more especially in respect of the earlier generations, will probably be fully appreciated only by those who have essayed a similar task.

Early records, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, are scanty, and, save in the matter of oincial papers, most frequently unreliable, and not uncommonly mutually contradictory; the entries in Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls, Fine Rolls, etc., while, of course, unimpeachable as far as they go, too frequently convey no information beyond the fact of the existence of certain persons at a given period, without the smallest indication of their mutual relationship, leaving to the genealogist the difficult task of finding for each individual thus named his particular niche in the pedigree—a problem the solution of which is, in many instances, practically impossible, and in others more or less conjectural, the devolution of lands, or payment of a fine, occasionally affording a more definite clue.

Nor is this all. The genealogist who seeks to trace the pedigree of a family claiming, as in the present instance, its derivation from the period of the Norman Conquest, finds himself confronted by an immense mass of matter affecting to deal with the subject: heralds, county historians, independent antiquarians, members of the family, genealogical enthusiasts, and others, of every shade of importance—or otherwise—have had their fling at it; the result is a bewildering maze of deductions, conjectures, and assertions, plausible enough in some instances, in others more than doubtful,

and occasionally absurd and impossible; advanced with amazing confidence, and too frequently unsupported by a tittle of reliable evidence. It is no uncommon occurrence to find a long and elaborate pedigree without a single date to punctuate the chronology, or any authority adduced for the various steps.

There has been a general tendency among historians and genealogists to accept with too much confidence the genealogies, etc., contained in the reports of Heralds' Visitations. These visitations, inaugurated in the sixteenth century with the main object of ascertaining the right of various persons to bear sundry coats-of-arms, and the detection of those who had assumed such shields without due authority, are of very unequal value, and in not a few instances the results are transparently unreliable, involving patent anachronisms and other discrepancies. These somewhat doubtful pedigrees have unfortunately been very widely accepted, with the result that various links, marriages, and statements contained therein have become invested with a spurious value, passed on from one generation, from one branch of a family to another, and finally accepted as duly authenticated facts; whereas, in many instances, no authority whatever is cited for them. The most definite assertions appear to have been frequently accepted by the heralds solely upon the authority of the members of the family under visitation. There are, no doubt, many instances in which the deductions are reasonable enough, but it is necessary to exercise very careful discrimination before accepting them. In later years pedigrees which are the outcome of Heralds' Visitations have been subjected to much more minute scrutiny, and no genealogist of the present time would accept them as satisfactory evidence without independent corroboration. Nevertheless, the family traditions to which they have given rise in the past retain a remarkable vitality, and cannot logically be ignored by the genealogist who would stand upon firm ground. Investigation is essential in order to arrive at a just and ingenuous conclusion.

In like manner, the statements and deductions of county historians can only be accepted, in most instances, after careful scrutiny and verification of authorities, where these are cited, which in too many instances they are not. There are, of course, some county historians who are commonly accepted as being absolutely reliable, who give chapter and verse for every statement, and candidly acknowledge the absence of adequate proof. There are others, however, who cannot be included in this category, who adopt without due investigation statements and deductions derived from doubtful sources, involving absurd anachronisms, and so forth. It is necessary, therefore, to examine very carefully the information contained in these volumes, and separate the wheat from the chaff

—a process which frequently involves an immense amount of trouble.

In writing of the Maunsells, the family historian must inevitably encounter the battery of Welsh genealogists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Volume upon volume of closely-written manuscript, involving an immense amount of labour, are to be found in the British Museum, the Record Office, and in private collections; and it would be reasonable to assume that, in respect at least of families of Welsh origin, or of long residence in Wales, these records would prove reliable. Doubtless there are among them some which justify the assumption; but those which have been consulted with reference to this work are absolutely worthless, teeming with errors which are obvious after a very brief scrutiny, almost entirely destitute of dates and authorities, and most frequently at loggerheads one with another concerning some cardinal facts.

These remarks—which are copiously illustrated in the following pages—are not introduced merely with the purpose of animadverting upon the idiosyncrasies and imperfections of irresponsible genealogists; they are advanced in excuse—if excuse be necessary—and explanation of the methods adopted in this book, when dealing with the earlier period of the genealogy.

It may appear at first sight, to the reader, whether a member of the family or otherwise, that undue space is accorded to the discussion of the statements or allegations of other writers, and that the demonstration of errors upon their part constitutes a merely negative attitude, which is not conducive to the elaboration of the subject in hand. This view would, however, be superficial and illusory. The Maunsell family, in common with others of ancient origin, has been made the subject of an immense amount of comment, in various forms, as already indicated. Two members of the family, with an interval of fifty years, have essayed its history; these two volumes teem with positive assertions, made with the utmost confidence, but frequently in conflict one with another, and mostly without authority cited. Other records—such as those in county histories, and Welsh and other genealogies—also set forth various categorical statements; these allegations are in evidence for anyone who likes to read them, and have, beyond doubt, been in many instances accepted as fact—*littera scripta manet*. There are not a few, even among educated people, who are apt to accept as true any statement which appears "in print," while others will place absolute confidence in any document of respectable antiquity—such, for instance, as a Heralds' Visitation of the sixteenth century.

To ignore these statements or allegations would be both

inartistic and insincere, and would, moreover, tend to discount the value and veracity of this present work.

It has therefore been considered essential to the satisfactory elucidation of the subject to investigate minutely the writings of those who have gone before, to apply the most searching tests to their statements and deductions, adopting those which survive the test, and excluding those which fail to do so. Furthermore, this very process of elimination may lead to some clue which would otherwise have escaped notice, and which may serve to establish, perhaps, an important point; this has, indeed, occurred in one or two instances.

These investigations naturally involve much research, which occupies a great deal of time; and, in spite of the huge collection of records, etc., made by Colonel Maunsell, and by those who have very ably conducted research for him, it has been necessary to prosecute further investigations upon a large scale, in order to clear up the various problems which constantly present themselves. The history of Sir John Maunsell, for instance, the great statesman and cleric of the time of Henry III., demanded the study of many weeks, in order to clear up, as far as possible, the disputed points as to his birth, marriage, etc.; the elucidation of one especial matter occupied several days in the British Museum before the desired evidence was forthcoming.

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the writing of this book has occupied a longer period than was anticipated; but it is hoped that the labour which has been expended upon it has served to produce a complete and faithful record of the family—though this last phrase must be accepted in a qualified sense.

Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy, and every statement has been, where possible, supported by a clear and distinct reference, or, where this has not been available, the pros and cons have been set forth, and a tentative verdict based upon them; but it is not contended that the early genealogy, down to about the commencement of the fourteenth century, is absolutely established; this was not found to be possible of accomplishment, and it is presented as feasible and probable—as a well-considered mean of the various evidences available, but no more.

In narrating the services and experiences of the more distinguished members of the family [illegible] of the history of the period, or of [illegible] number has been concerned, has been [illegible] which would otherwise appear [illegible] took a considerable hand in the making of the history of his time

One of the most intricate problems has been the determination of the inter-relation of the various branches of the family which have become associated with different counties, and settled in Ireland; the evidence is frequently obscure, and in some instances the conclusions arrived at can only be regarded as more or less conjectural.

The heraldic coats and quarterings of a family of such ancient origin and widely-dispersed branches cannot fail to be of interest, and it has been deemed not unsuitable to introduce a chapter giving the general outlines of the history of the inauguration and progress of heraldry, while details of the various shields adopted by the several branches are given in their proper place.

It has not been deemed necessary or expedient to supply a bibliography, or list of works, etc., which have been consulted. This is, of course, a very common practice, and, in the case of an important historical or scientific treatise, has no doubt a good deal to be said for it.

In the present instance it has been considered sufficient to give the authority, wherever possible, for statements or allegations, in full, so that verification is made easy for those who desire to embark upon it. Probably an elaborate bibliography would have been passed over by the great majority of readers as a superfluous appendage.

The great disparity in the length of the chapters is the inevitable result of the prominence of a few famous members of the family; it has not been considered necessary to split up the narrative concerning any individual into several chapters.

While it has been found necessary to criticise adversely some of the statements and deductions in Mr. R. G. Maunsell's history of the family, it would be ungenerous to refrain from acknowledging the great assistance which this work has afforded, as well in the actual matter as in providing valuable clues for further research upon many points.

E. P. S.

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CHAPTER I

Origin of the Name

THE conquest of Britain by the Normans stands out in such giant proportions above most other incidents in British history as to obscure, by the vastness of its towering bulk, the very details which compose the whole.

Every schoolchild knows the year, every idle conversationalist alludes glibly enough to periods or events before or since the Conquest; and with similar lightness of heart the claimant of ancient descent unhesitatingly asserts that his ancestors "came over with the Conqueror," even though the statement may be sadly lacking in adequate evidence whereby to support it.

The ordinary conception of the nature and circumstances of the causes which led up to this tremendous historical upheaval is, however, of the most vague description. There was in vogue, a good many years ago, a ranting, flippant sort of song in praise of our "Right little, tight little Island," wherein is set forth how the great Norman duke, being tired of his own country, and taking a fancy to the said island, incontinently embarked with his merry men and took possession; and really the popular notion of the Norman Conquest may almost be said to be embodied in this *quasi*-patriotic composition.

That this was not precisely the fashion in which the Norman Conquest came about, those who have read even a little history are well aware; and as we are here dealing with the genealogy of a family which undoubtedly traces its ancestry to this period, no excuse is needed for the introduction of a short review of the circumstances under which Philip Mansel, together with the other followers of William of Normandy, set sail from the continent and effected a successful landing on our shores; and of the previous events which,

during a period extending over some fifteen years, had been slowly but surely leading up to the final consummation.

The seeds of the Conquest were sown, indeed, at the very commencement of the eleventh century, in the marriage of Ethelred the King with Emma, daughter of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy, and sister to Duke Richard II.

Their son Edward—afterwards to be known as King Edward the Confessor—spent the whole of his youth and early manhood at the Norman court. During his sojourn there was born William, subsequently known as the Conqueror, but in these early days by a much less flattering *sobriquet*—to wit, "The Bastard." He was undoubtedly the illegitimate son, by a mistress of humble birth, of Robert, grandson to Richard the Fearless.

When Edward became king of England he brought with him to court all his Norman sympathies, and a host of Norman courtiers, clerics, etc.; and he left behind him in Normandy the young Duke William, who succeeded, *malgré* his natal disabilities, to the honours and responsibilities of the dukedom, and speedily proved himself to be a man of rare courage and capacity.

In the year 1051 Duke William paid a visit to Edward, and was received at the English court with every conceivable token of honour and esteem. During this visit, however, there passed between the two cousins some sort of discussion with regard to the succession to the crown of England; and it is certain that Edward gave the Duke some pledge or promise that he should, if Edward could by any means bring it about, succeed to it; and so the Norman returned to his own court, keeping in view during the following years this pledge or promise.

Meanwhile Harold, the son of the great Earl Godwin, being on a kind of yachting and hunting excursion—or, as some say, bound on a visit to Normandy—was blown by contrary winds on to the coast at Ponthieu, where, being recognised, he was made a prisoner by Guy of Ponthieu, no doubt with the aim of obtaining a large ransom for a person of so much importance.

Harold, however, contrived to get word to William of Normandy of his very uncomfortable plight, upon which the latter came

to the rescue, and took Harold home with him as his guest, treating him with immense consideration, inviting him to share in his sports and chivalries, and even in military expeditions, which were very much to Harold's taste, for he was a born fighter.

Over all this hospitality and comradeship, however, there hung the shadow of presumptive captivity; Harold was, indeed, an honoured guest, but he was also, virtually, a prisoner, and perhaps was made to feel it in some subtle fashion. William, in fact, had flown to the rescue, and had willingly paid a very large sum to Guy of Ponthieu, as ransom or whatnot, with a distinct aim in view.

Aware as he was of Harold's position as a possible, even probable, successor to Edward, he proceeded to put pressure upon him, and induced him to swear, on the Holy Relics of the Saints, that he would do all that lay in his power to obtain the succession for him, William—an oath which it was as little creditable in William to extort as it was in Harold to execute; for the former must have proposed it in full consciousness of his power over the other at the moment, and the latter must have sworn without the smallest intention of keeping his word.

There is a story, also, that William caused Harold to swear that he would marry William's daughter, she being then a little child; some writers hold that both these oaths were proposed and executed, others that one or the other was taken by Harold. Dr. E. A. Freeman, in his exhaustive work on the Norman Conquest,[1] holds the view that the oath concerning the succession was certainly taken, and probably the other as well; also that William, when he hastened to the rescue of Harold, had in view the object of compromising him, in one way or the other.

The oath, whether single or twofold, was not kept; and this, coupled with the breach of Edward's alleged promise, in nominating Harold, on his deathbed, as his successor, constituted the ground of William's resolution to invade Britain, and obtain by force that which he had failed to acquire by intrigue.

His scheme was not at first accepted with enthusiasm among his retainers; but eventually, in great measure through the wiliness

[1] "The Norman Conquest," by E. A. Freeman. 8vo. Clarendon Press. App. R.

of one FitzOsber of Bretuil, the barons were cajoled or compelled into co-operation. FitzOsber is alluded to by Master Wace, in his Chronicle of the Conquest, as "the proud of spirit"; probably a perfectly just estimate of his character, from one point of view. He appears, however, to have been lacking in that proper pride which eschews prevarication and double-dealing; and he succeeded in persuading the barons, against their own convictions and inclinations, to furnish the ships and men for the great adventure.

"Then," we are told, "the duke called on his good neighbours the Bretons, Mansels, and Angevins, and those of Pontif and Boloigne, to come with him in his need. To those who wished he promised lands, if he should conquer England. To many he promised other rewards, good pay, and rich gifts. From all sides he summoned soldiers who would serve for hire."[1]

Thus, it appears at the first glance, is the name of Mansel introduced as being borne by one of William's followers at the Conquest. The deduction, however, would be superficial and inaccurate; it cannot be doubted that among William's host there was at least one Mansel, and probably more than one, but they are not necessarily alluded to in the above quotation, as will be demonstrated later on.

There existed in Northern France, probably for some generations previous to the Conquest, sundry families bearing the name of Mansel or Monceel. Numerous variants in the manner of spelling have since cropped up, as is inevitable in the case of all names, whether of men or of localities, which lay claim to any antiquity—Maunsell, Maunchenell, Maunchell, Mauntell, Mansell, Monceel, Mounsell—such are some of the versions of the name, with another variation, as late as Elizabethan times, of Mansfeeld.

This recklessness in the matter of orthography, which prevailed, with gradually decreasing redundancy, well on into the eighteenth century, may prove a serious obstacle in the path of the historian who seeks, for example, to establish a connection between a family name and that of a town or province; indeed, the origin of

[1] "Master Wace, his Chronicle of the Norman Conquest, from the Roman de Rou," p. 109. Translated, with notes and illustrations, by Edgar Taylor. London, 1837.

an ancient surname is more frequently than otherwise involved in mystery, conflicting legends assigning to it various derivations, often entirely diverse in character—the name of a town, a feat of arms, the holding of some special office, the caprice of a potentate, or of some fair lady, with other more or less trivial occasions.

There is a legend, for instance, of a certain Howard, who greatly distinguished himself at the Siege of Boulogne, and was summoned to the king's presence afterwards to give an account of his share in the capture of the town. He summed up his own performance in the words, "Sire, I tripped up the walls"; upon which the king replied, "Tripp shall be thy name, and no longer Howard," and granted him a scaling ladder on his coat-of-arms, which is borne to this day by the Tripps of Somersetshire, who, as recorded in Burke's "General Armory," possess an old escutcheon with the legend inscribed upon it—a legend which appears to contain some anachronisms, but is doubtless true in substance.

No such romantic incident is associated with the derivation of the name of Maunsell, concerning which there is considerable diversity of opinion, two modern writers, each a member of the family, being sharply in conflict.

The first of these, in a work which never got beyond the early years of Charles I., states his case in very confident language as follows:

"It is very simple: it signifies a native of Le Mans, formerly spelt Le Mauns, one of the principal towns in the ancient province of Maine; in Latin *Mansellus*, in French *Manseau*, or *Mansel*; *eau* and *el* being convertible terminations. It is almost superfluous to add that a large portion of William's invading army was composed of natives of Maine, who served gratuitously. Wace, in his Chronicles of the Conquest (Roman de Rou), when describing the preparations for the expedition against Harold and England, says: 'Then the duke called in his good neighbours the Britons (*sic*) the Mansels and Angevins, and those of Pontif and Boloigne, to come with him in his need.' In Lower Normandy there is a place called Manseliere, formerly a prebendal stall to the cathedral of Coutances. In Brittany there is likewise a place so denominated. The latter is

situated between Dol and Bagner, department of Isle et Vilaine. The name still continues in the locality, and a Monsieur Mancel was mayor of Dol in 1829-30. The 'Dictionnaire Universel de Trevoux' says: 'Manseau, elle, s. m. et. f. qui est du Maine—habitant du Maine; on dit proverbialement "un Manseau vaut un Normand et demi."' Both in Maine and Normandy there is a small copper coin called a *manseau* or *mansai*. The one in the former province is worth half more in value than the same coin in Normandy, and hence the proverb." [1]

It is not, however, quite as simple a matter as Mr. Mansell would have us believe.

The other family historian, Robert George Maunsell, has totally different views. He says:

"The name Maunsell, with its variants Maunchell and Maunchenell, would seem to have been derived from, or may have given designation to, the district or province of La Manche, in Normandy. That district, in shape, is like a badly-made sleeve, and in the Maunsell coat-of-arms are three sleeves, or maunches, 'maltaillées.' The old French for sleeve was mancele, the modern French being manche. Some writers give the origin as being from Le Mans (*quasi* Mans-el), the chief town of Maine, but the forms 'Mansois' and 'Manxois' alone are found in this connection, whilst the term 'Manseau' was used to designate 'a man from Maine.'"

(Here follow the quotations, as above, from the "Dictionnaire Universel de Trevoux," and the Chronicles of Wace.) The writer proceeds:

"The family was evidently numerous and of widespread influence in France, but it does not follow that all who assumed the surname belonged to the same stock. . . . Saint Allais, in his 'Dictionnaire de la Noblesse,' says: 'Le Maunsell—an ancient family, originally of Normandy.'" [2]

Here is a distinct issue; one writer claims La Manche, the

[1] "An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Ancient Family of Maunsell—Mansell—Mansel," by William W. Mansell; qto; pp. 3, 4. 1850.

[2] "History of Maunsell, or Mansel, and other Families," compiled by Robert George Maunsell; qto; p. 1. Guy & Co., Cork, 1903.

other selects Maine as the province from which the Maunsell family derives its origin and its name.

W. W. Mansell, as has been noticed, starts with great confidence: "It is very simple," he asserts; and yet, in the passage which has been quoted above, he contradicts himself. The name, he says, "signifies a native of Le Mans, one of the principal towns in the ancient province of Maine . . . in French, *Manseau*, or *Mansel*," etc.; but he quotes a few lines further on from the "Dictionnaire Universel de Trevoux": "Manseau, elle—qui est du Maine—habitant du Maine," which is not quite the same thing as a native of the chief town of Maine, when one is considering the derivation of a surname. It is a pity that the writer should not have been at greater pains to make good his argument; for, had he glanced a few inches higher up the page of the "Dictionnaire de Trevoux," he would have found—*Mansai*, an ancient synonym of *Manseau*: "on a dit autrefois *Mansai* pour *Manseau*, ou natif de la ville du Mans, *ou du pays du Maine*"—a reference which would have more or less justified his opening words, and obviated the discrepancy which tends to discount his case.

Turning to the hypothesis set forth by R. G. Maunsell, it is found to be far more vague than the other. He tells us that the name "would seem to have been derived from, or may have given designation to, the district or province of La Manche, in Normandy"; and proceeds to justify this assumption by reference to the shape of the province, and the presence of the maunche, or sleeve, on the Maunsell shield. The assumption is, after all, merely an alternative one; either the family took the name from the province, or the province from the family; in what measure the maunche supports the contention will be considered a little later.

The author, in making the same quotation as W. W. Mansell, from the Chronicle of Master Wace, apparently draws the conclusion that William's "good neighbours," the Mansels, were members of the Mansel family of that period. The assumption is entirely unwarrantable, and is also incompatible with the hypothesis that the family originated in La Manche, as the people in that part would have been his *subjects*, not his neighbours. Maine was not in

Normandy, though the dukes of Normandy claimed a sort of suzerainty over it, which had occasioned some considerable trouble only three years previous to the Conquest. Normandy was added to the Kingdom of France, "par conquète," in 1204; Maine, "par testament," in 1481.

R. G. Maunsell proceeds:

"In his 'Dictionnaire de la Noblesse' St. Allais says, 'Le Maunsell—an ancient family, originally of Normandy.'" It is not, however, in this work, but in Viton de Saint Allais' "Nobiliaire Universel de France" that this reference occurs: "Le Mancel (*sic*), famille ancienne, originaire de Normandie."

R. G. Maunsell also takes exception to the theory that the name is derived from the town of Le Mans, because "the forms 'Mansois' and 'Manxois' alone are found in this connection." This is scarcely accurate; in the "Dictionnaire Universel," already quoted by both authors, will be found: "Mansois, s. m. vieux mot qui s'est autrefois pour Manseau," with no allusion to the town of Le Mans: so, if it be accepted as a synonym of Manseau and Mansai, it may mean either a native of Maine or of Le Mans.[1]

Now, as to the connection between the name of Maunsell, the form of the province of La Maunche, and the maunche, or sleeve, on the shield.

La Manche, we are told, is in form like a badly-made sleeve, and the coat-of-arms is charged with three maunches, "mal-taillées" —*ergo*, the charge was derived, with the name, from the form of the province; this is the obvious deduction which is drawn by the author.

Armorial bearings were not known at the time of the Conquest; they did not come into vogue until about a century later, and by that time the Maunsell family was, as we shall see, firmly established in England.

It is not known to which branch of the family, whether in France or England, an armorial shield was first granted; but it is quite well known that the maunche, as an heraldic charge, had its origin in the

[1] See under Mansois, in Godefroy's "Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Francaise"; and in "Dictionnaire Universel de Trevoux."

lady's sleeve of the twelfth century; and a very remarkable and ungainly sleeve it was, with a huge gaping mouth, hanging to the ground. When a knight had achieved some feat of "derring do," his lady—for the time being—would sometimes bestow upon him, instead of a lock of her hair, or other trifle, one of her sleeves; and this the gallant would wear, as best he might, upon his helmet.

From this to the adoption of the maunche as an heraldic charge is an easy and obvious transition; and as it was, at its best, an uncouth affair, and certainly presented a more ungainly aspect when somewhat rudely drawn upon the shield than when it was adorning some fair lady's arm, it was, sooner or later, dubbed in heraldry, "mal-taillée"; that is, according to Viton de Saint Allais, shaped in a bizarre and capricious fashion.

There is, however, another and a more fundamental objection to the theory thus set forth, that the name, together with the charges upon the shield, are derived from the designation and form of the province of La Manche; it is a very difficult objection to surmount, for it consists in the fact that the *province* of La Manche had no existence at the period of the Conquest, nor, indeed, at any period.

Up to the year 1790, France was divided into thirty-three great and seven small military governments or provinces, and among these there was not any named La Manche. When the re-arrangement of the country into departments took place, about 1790, one of these was named Manche, or possibly, at first, La Manche; in modern atlases it is simply Manche. This department covers the ground formerly occupied by the two ancient Norman districts of Cotentin—often alluded to as Le Contentin—and Avranches, or at least a portion of the latter.

The square-topped peninsula, jutting well into the English Channel, which is now known as the Department of Manche, was thus, at that period in which the name of Mansel was in process of development, the district of Cotentin, in Normandy.

Nor is there the least ground for the assumption that the name of La Manche was bestowed with any reference to the alleged resemblance—somewhat far-fetched as it certainly is—in the geographical form of the department to a sleeve. It juts out, as has

been remarked, somewhat conspicuously into the English Channel, which does roughly convey in its form the idea of a long, misshapen sleeve, and is therefore named by the French *La Manche;* hence the department which more particularly obtrudes itself into the "sleeve" is named after it, just as the department of Pas de Calais is named after the Strait of Dover.

R. G. Maunsell's theory as to the derivation of the name is thus disposed of; that of W. W. Mansell has, however, more solid foundation, though he is scarcely exempt from the imputation that he also has assumed that, in his quotation from the English version of the "Roman de Rou," the word "Mansels" is intended to signify the families of that name. The succeeding sentence will scarcely bear any other interpretation: "In Lower Normandy there is a place called Manselière," etc., *i.e.*, a place named after the Mansel family.

This writer also at first conveys the impression that Maine was in Normandy, for he says, just above: "It is almost superfluous to add that a large portion of William's invading army was composed of natives of Maine, who served gratuitously."

The original French, in the "Roman de Rou," runs as follows: "Poiz a requis ses boens veizins Bretunz, Mansels et Angevins, cels de Pontif de Boloigne"; and the relation in which these "boens veizins" stood to the duke is emphasised in the marginal note: "Appel et offres aux chevaliers des *pays voisin*"; to these he offered lands, good pay, and rich gifts; and "from all sides he summoned soldiers who would serve for hire"—which by no means bears out the assumption that the natives of Maine "served gratuitously."

The word "Mansels" in the original undoubtedly signifies the people of Maine, just as "Angevins" denotes those of Anjou; it is the masculine plural of Manseau, in place of the more common "Manseaux."

It is, however, by no means a wild or impossible contention that the surname of Mansel, or Maunsell, was thus derived, though it is in conflict with the statements of Viton de Saint Allais and others, that the family was of Norman origin.

Both W. W. Mansell and R. G. Maunsell maintain that the original spelling of the name was *Maunsell*; but this, again, tends to discount the theory of French or Norman derivation, for in all French biographies and armories it is spelt either *Mansel* or *Mancel*.

In the Battle Abbey Rolls, to which both writers refer for confirmation of their contention, the name appears; in Holinshed's Roll as Maunchenell, and in Leland's Roll as Mauncel—which, however, scarcely warrants the positive assertion that the name was originally spelt *Maunsell*. Mr. M. A. Lower says that "the preference ought unquestionably to be conceded" to Leland's Roll;[1] John Leland, in his "Itinerary," says that he saw and transcribed the original Roll on the spot.

Holinshed, in his "Catalogue of such Noblemen, Lords, and Gentlemen of Name as came into this Land with William the Conqueror," which precedes what is usually known as Holinshed's Roll, has "Le Seigneur de la Lande"; and in Viton de Saint Allais' "Nobiliaire Universel de France," under "Nobiliaire de Normandie," occurs the following: "Mansel, Seigneur de la Lande; généralité de Caen, famille originaire d'*Angleterre*";[2] and in another place, as has already been noticed, he has Le Mancel,[3] who is also "généralité de Caen" These Mansels may have been originally Seigneurs de la Lande, and this one alluded to by Saint Allais may have been a descendant of that Seigneur who is said by Holinshed to have accompanied the Conqueror, returning from England at some date not stated; his coat-of-arms is precisely the same as that of the English Maunsells, while "Le Mancel" is credited by Saint Allais with a totally different shield.

The Duchess of Cleveland, in her work on the Battle Abbey Roll, says: "Mauncel. This name is frequently found in the Norman Exchequer Rolls of the twelfth century, and certainly remained in Normandy for upwards of six hundred years. The

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[1] "English Surnames. Essays on Family Nomenclature," etc., by Mark Antony Lower. London, 1842.

[2] "Nobiliaire Universel de France," par M. (Viton) de Saint Allais. Vol. vi., Alphabetical table, "Nobiliaire de Normandie."

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. iii., p. 335. Ed. 1872-3.

Du Moncels bore *Gules*, three lozenges *Or*. . . . The first who came to England was Philip Mansel,"[1] etc.

Surely there is a good deal of assumption here; the writer gives no authority whatever for the identity of Mauncel, Du Moncel, and Mansel as surnames, and the blason is distinctly against it.

The Battle Abbey Roll must not, however, be accepted as an infallible guide in the matter of orthography, nor, indeed, as to the presence of any individual, whose name is inscribed thereon, at the Battle of Hastings. The original Roll was probably destroyed in the fire at Cowdray House, whither it had been removed by the then owner of Battle Abbey, Sir Thomas Webster; and the various transcribers differ materially as to numbers, names, and orthography. The Roll, we are told, was originally made out by the monks of the Abbey; and by the time the Abbey was built, and the monks in habitation, the companions of the Conqueror at the invasion must have been widely scattered. Who could vouch for such a detail as the correct spelling of names?—if, indeed, there was any such thing as correct spelling recognised; everyone at that time who was capable of writing and spelling at all adopted his own idea of the moment, and spelt his own name, and those of others, as the fancy moved him.

The names Mauncel, Du Moncel, and Mansel would have a very similar sound in French pronunciation, and the monks, as likely as not, adopted phonetic spelling, and made as good a shot as they could.

One of the several suggestions as to the origin of the name occurs in C. W. Bardsley's "English Surnames."[2] He surmises that it may be a corruption or adaptation of "Manciple," a term derived from *Mancipia*, signifying a superior servitor to high ecclesiastics (*see* Du Cange's "Glossarium"). The term was later applied to the steward or caterer for an Inn of Court or College, and was still in vogue in recent years at some colleges in Oxford.

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[1] "The Battle Abbey Roll, with some account of the Norman Lineages," by the Duchess of Cleveland. Vol. iii., p. 394. London, 1889.

[2] "English Surnames: their Sources and Significations," by Charles Wareing Bardsley. London, 1875.

Other suggested derivations are: Mansellus, an ecclesiastical office-bearer; and Mansellus, diminutive of Mansus, a small villa or dwelling-place.

When all is said and done, we are perhaps no nearer the precise facts of the matter, either with regard to derivation or orthography. The deliberate adoption, by one branch or other of the family, of a particular method of spelling, is a matter concerning which there will be something to say later on; meanwhile it should be noted that, in official documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the name almost invariably appears as Maunsell, or Maunsel.

It has been considered advisable to clear the ground by discussing the views thus set forth by two family historians, who have arrived at their conclusions upon somewhat slender, not to say erroneous, premisses. It is to be regretted that there does not appear to be evidence available which would justify a positive in place of a negative attitude with regard to the questions dealt with. It can, however, be stated with confidence that the family did not derive its name and coat-of-arms from the "province" of La Manche; and that, if the name be derived from a word signifying "native of Maine" or of Le Mans, it is not, as is usually assumed, of Norman origin. That one or more Maunsells, or Mansels, or Mancels, or Mauncels came over with William the Conqueror there cannot be any doubt; and from one of these the present family of Maunsells or Mansells in Britain and Ireland, with all its branches is, also without reasonable doubt, descended.

It has been suggested, by a writer (D. W. P. Maunsell) in "Notes and Queries" (December, 1911, p. 151), that some of the English Maunsells were of Saxon origin, and had nothing to do with the French or Norman branches. This idea is based upon the alternative of "Malmeshull" for Maunsell, in the case of Gamage, in Gloucestershire; the writer maintains that "Malmeshull" is of Saxon derivation. It is worthy of note, however, in this connection, that there is no name in the Domesday visitation which bears the least resemblance to Malmeshull or Maunsell.

In "Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the

County of Hereford," by Wm. Henry Cooke (Hundred of Grimsworth) p. 117, under the heading of "Parish of Mansel Gamage," the author states that "the word Mansel, a diminutive of *Malveshlle* (Anglo-Saxon), means a slope of elevated ground." This may be so, but investigation of Anglo-Saxon dictionaries does not confirm it. It appears, however, that both in Hereford and Somerset there existed a parish or manor bearing the name of Mansel or akin to it. There is not any ground for the hypothesis that the surname of Mansel or Maunsell was thus derived, save in a solitary instance, cited elsewhere, when (according to Collinson, the historian of Somerset), the son of Philip Arbalistarius assumed the name from the locality. The French surname of Mansel or Mancel obviously could have had no such derivation, and the existence of one or two hamlets or parishes of the name in England can only be regarded as a coincidence.

CHAPTER II

The Maunsell Arms and Crest

THERE are, perhaps, not many subjects concerning which the individual who is classed as the "ordinary reader" possesses less knowledge than the Science of Heraldry—and this is putting the case strongly, for the ordinary reader is as a rule extremely averse from acquiring precise information upon any subject. Let it not be too hastily assumed that this abstention is cited to his discredit; there is really no reason why he should study heraldry, or any other matter which is very far removed from the sphere of his own life and daily interests; even though, as may very possibly be the case, he has inherited or acquired the right to have some armorial device engraved upon his silver, stamped upon his note-paper, and painted upon the panel of his carriage or motor-car—a right which carries with it likewise the privilege of paying an annual fee of one or two guineas to the Inland Revenue Department.

And yet, notwithstanding this prevailing ignorance of, and apparent lack of interest in, the subject of heraldry, there is something about it which exercises a subtle attraction, which refuses to be ignored. There is a jingle of it in the air: terms which belong exclusively, by right of origin and legitimate use, to heraldry, are somehow dragged into ordinary discourse, and are, most frequently, very grossly misapplied; nevertheless, they crop up again and again. Everyone is familiar with the crude example in the case of the phrase "bar sinister," as a polite euphemism for bastardy, frequently found in fiction—"bar sinister" being, *bien entendu*, an impossibility in heraldry.

It is necessary, or at least it is very expedient, that there should be some little discourse in this chapter upon the origin and

development of heraldry, dealing in general terms with facts and traditions, which are to be applied particularly in describing various coats-of-arms pertaining to the Maunsell family and others akin to it; and surely no excuse is needed for assuming in the reader an intelligent interest in the matter.

The term heraldry signifies, strictly speaking, all the various functions of the herald; it has, however, long been almost exclusively attached to what is otherwise known as armory, or armorial bearings.

It is not easy to assign a precise period to the origin of the practice of wearing certain devices, or "charges" upon the shield. The extravagant theories propounded by some early writers, by which every ancient pagan presentment of beast, bird, or reptile, and the "totems" or signs of Indian tribes and families were each and all said to be of the nature of heraldry, may be put aside as mere romance.

The true origin of heraldry was undoubtedly among the Christian nations of the West; and it was certainly not introduced until about the middle of the twelfth century. The stories which are occasionally to be found, both in ancient and modern writings, of the coat-of-arms displayed by some follower of William at the Conquest, are quite apocryphal.

Armorial bearings originated, almost certainly, with the custom, which greatly developed in the twelfth century, of knights or leaders displaying upon their shields, their helmets, their surcoats, worn over the armour, their horse-trappings, or wherever it would be conspicuous, some device or sign by which they would be recognised in the heat of battle by their immediate followers. The terms "coat-of-arms," and "armorial shield" are quite naturally derived from these practices; and the device thus adopted by a knight would, quite as naturally, be retained by his son and descendants, as an hereditary and honourable family badge.

As the practice developed, it is easy to conceive that a certain rivalry would arise in the devising of appropriate "charges"; and in time quite a variety of more or less quaint designs would be in evidence, including some of the fabulous beasts of the ancients, but

more frequently based upon the name or calling of the individual; or perhaps upon some token bestowed by the lady whose favours he is seeking.

Whatever the device, there was no difficulty about wearing it—no official application to be made; the knight, having made his selection, proceeded without let or hindrance to paint it upon his coat or shield, etc. But even in these early days of heraldry the prior right to a device was recognised; and this was officially ratified in the reign of Richard II., when Sir Richard le Scrope challenged the right of Sir Robert Grosvenor to bear the coat—azure, a bend or. The suit lasted for four years, and ended at length in favour of Scrope, who, it is said, proved by a great number of witnesses—including John of Gaunt and Chaucer the poet—that "his ancestors had continually borne the contested arms from the Conquest."[1] Sir Richard would appear to have proved a little too much; unless, indeed, his ancestor at the Conquest had coloured a diagonal support on his shield, so as to emphasise it, as is said to have been the occasional practice; but it would be stretching the point very severely to dignify this as a "charge" or "ordinary" at that date.

However, this wordy suit had the effect of bringing about a more regular and satisfactory procedure in the matter. Thenceforward the right to bear arms was bestowed solely by the sovereign, as the "fountain of honour," or by those to whom he delegated, by letters patent, the powers to act for him, and who were, and are, termed kings-at-arms; a register being kept at the College of Arms of all those upon whom the right has thus been bestowed; though there are, of course, many instances in which certain arms had been borne long before this official recognition took place—that of the Maunsell family being included in this category.

Like all other privileges, the right to bear arms is liable to abuse by ambitious and unscrupulous persons; and these abuses have always existed. That is to say, a man who desired to "sport" a coat-of-arms would, sometimes through ignorance, adopt some device which was borne, perhaps, by a namesake; indeed, many

[1] Burke's "General Armory," under "Scrope."

people imagine to this day that persons of the same surname bear, *ipso facto*, the same arms. Another would devise some pretty design out of his own head; and these delinquents would often enjoy undetected, for a considerable time, whatever satisfaction they derived from their little adventures. A very stringent proclamation and warning against this practice was issued in the reign of Henry V.; and later, in Tudor times, heralds were despatched by the kings-at-arms to scour the country and hold inquisition into the rights of all who bore arms, to investigate their pedigrees, and so forth, these inquisitions being known as heralds' visitations. There will be a good deal to say about them in the next chapter.

Once inaugurated, the development of Armory was very rapid; there was a certain fascination about it, as will be readily imagined, for men who found frequent occasion for the use and display of their arms, whether on the battlefield or in the tournament: the courage and enthusiasm of their followers was stimulated by the view of the familiar emblem, now recognised as a permanent and hereditary family badge; for this is of the essence of a coat-of-arms—it is personal, permanent, and hereditary. The badges or ensigns previously displayed, at the time of the Conquest and earlier, as depicted upon the Bayeux tapestry and elsewhere, made no pretension to these latter attributes: personal they may have been, permanent or hereditary they were not.

Very speedily there came into vogue an heraldic vocabulary, wherein were many quaint expressions, derived and adapted chiefly from the French, sometimes from old Latin, or from Oriental tongues. This heralds' jargon, as we all know, has survived, like the dead languages, the lingual changes and chances of time, and remains with us unaltered, a study of itself, and a very great enigma to the ordinary reader.

It is not proposed to enter here upon the enunciation and interpretation of the whole heraldic vocabulary; it is a very long one, and the great majority of the terms would not bear reference to the shields under consideration. A brief explanation will frequently be possible in the text, and this will be supplemented by a glossary at the end of the chapter, explaining all the terms therein contained.

Having arrived at this point, that the adoption of some device or "charge," to be depicted upon the shield or surcoat, inaugurated about the middle of the twelfth century, immediately became exceedingly popular and acceptable, both from a practical and romantic standpoint; and that the form and nature of the device was left entirely to the fancy of the individual, it now remains to consider the devices which have been adopted by the Maunsell family, together with the causes or occasions which may have led to their use. The question of the crest and motto will be considered separately.

It has already been necessary, in the previous chapter, to discuss the heraldic device known as the manche, or maunche; it should preferably have been left for this present chapter, but it was not possible to deal with certain allegations concerning the origin of the family name without encroaching to some extent upon the subject of heraldry.

There is, however, a good deal more to be said about the maunche.

Mr. R. G. Maunsell says of it: "The maunche represents an ecclesiastic's sleeve, and is perhaps a rebus on the name, being 'maunchelle,' a little sleeve." It is curious that this writer, in his remarks concerning the origin of the name, attributes the presence of the maunche on the shield, and also the origin of the surname, to the sleeve-like form of the province of La Manche; which hypothesis is obviously incompatible with that of a rebus, or punning "charge," based upon a surname already in use.

Mr. W. W. Mansell also states that the maunche represents an ecclesiastic's sleeve; but there is nothing to support this notion; there is no reason whatsoever why anything ecclesiastical should be imported into the matter. The ladies of the twelfth century chose to wear sleeves of an ungainly form, with huge, gaping mouth—just as they have, through all the ages, elected to wear, at various periods, sleeves of every description, including some which were so tight that the elbow-joint refused its office. Furthermore, there came into vogue at this period the fashion of bestowing upon a favoured admirer, in place of a lock of hair, etc., one of the sleeves from the fair lady's garment. The hypothesis that the maunche as

a "charge" upon the shield had its origin in this practice has been denied, and even ridiculed by some writers; but it is exceedingly difficult to see how else it could have been adopted, in the first instance. That the practice of giving the sleeve as a favour prevailed, there is evidence in a couplet from an old French play or poem, quoted by Godefroy in his "Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française," under *Mancele*, which was the old French for sleeve; the lines are from Crapelet's edition of Le Grand's "Parnotopeus."

> "Une pucele l'avoit pris.
> Si l'a eu sa mancele mis."

Here the custom is obviously alluded to as a well-known one, and the maiden is held to have committed herself by this act to the lover. Indeed, as has already been remarked, it is almost impossible to imagine any other origin for the adoption of the maunche; and, perhaps because, despite his admiration of the lady, the gallant could not but perceive that it was a very ugly affair; or possibly because the more or less rude representation of the sleeve upon the shield or coat was even more unsightly, the maunche was speedily dubbed *mal-taillée*, misshapen, bizarre, ill-made. The *sobriquet* has been widely applied in English heraldry, and in France the practice is universal: wherever it is alluded to, the maunche is saddled with the compound participle. Nor is it difficult to assign a probable explanation of what appears, at first sight, a depreciative term; it may be maintained as a sort of guarantee of antiquity, an indication of the use of the device through many generations, and of a certain pride in conforming to the original qualification.

Le Père Menestrier, a Jesuit father, and an authority upon heraldry in the eighteenth century, makes the somewhat curious and unguarded statement: "Mal-taillé, se dit d'une manche d'habit bizarre; il n'y en a des exemples qu'en Angleterre."[1]

Viton de Saint Allais, writing fifty years later, says: "Mal-taillée, adject. fem: se dit d'une manche d'habit, taillée d'une manière bizarre et capricieuse. Le P. Menestrier s'est trompé,

[1] "La Nouvelle Méthode raisonnée du [illegible]" [illegible] 1751. Menestrier gives the *mal-aline* parti[illegible]

quand il dit, dans sa 'Méthode du Blason,' qu'il n'y a pas des exemples de cette figure qu'en Angleterre.

"De la coste, en Poitou; de gentes, a la manche *mal-taillée* d'or.

"De Condé de Cœmy, en Champagne; d'or, a trois manches *mal-taillées* de guenles.

"De Leuemont de Moufflaines, en Normandie; fasce d'argent et d'azur; a la manche *mal-taillée* de guenles, brochante.

"Le Mansel de la Lande, en le même province; d'argent, au chevron de sable; accompagné de trois manches mal-taillées du même."[1]

That knights were in the habit of wearing ladies' "favours" upon their helmets is, of course, an indisputable fact; and though a huge hanging sleeve may appear to be a difficult affair to negotiate in this fashion, it will be seen later on, in dealing with the "lambrequin," or "mantling," in what manner and with what significance it may have been accomplished.

Adopting therefore the very reasonable hypothesis that the earliest use of the maunche as an heraldic device was due to the bestowal of a lady's sleeve as a favour, the most probable conjecture as to its adoption by the English Maunsells is, that it was in the nature of a "rebus" or "canting arms." The name being thoroughly established in the twelfth century, in spite of some orthographic variants, and the maunche being already in vogue as an armorial device, the very obvious pun of *Mancele* for Mansel, or Mancel, at once suggests itself. There are many coats-of-arms in which the principal device or charge is thus derived, and it is the fashion in some quarters to hold them cheap, as a sort of frivolous abuse of armory. This, however, is quite unjustifiable; some of the earliest and most honourable coats have thus originated; and the maunche, whatever the occasion of its adoption, is universally recognised as among the most ancient heraldic charges.

The coat-of-arms of the English Maunsells is precisely similar to that of Mansel de la Lande, alluded to by Viton de Saint Allais, *viz.*, argent, a chevron between three maunches, sable.

[1] "Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Noblesse de France," par Mr. de Saint Allais. Vol. ii., pp. 145-6. 1816.

While the maunche is borne by a good many families, there are but few who bear three maunches, and only three others who bear three maunches sable.

The chevron is said to have its origin in the French *chevron*, a rafter, or support of a roof; its form bears out the hypothesis. It is one of a certain number of heraldic devices which are, for some reason, known as "ordinaries," while the maunche is included among those known as "charges."

These terms are quite arbitrary, and it is not clear when and by whom they were first introduced; the development of the heraldic vocabulary and grammar was necessarily slow and gradual. From the preponderance of French terms, all of the ancient form, and others which are obviously adaptations from the French, it is certain that heraldic nomenclature came to us mostly from over the water. France was, indeed, most probably the birthplace of armory, which owed its inception, or at any rate its ardent pursuit, in great measure to the Crusades.

In the technical definition of a coat-of-arms, the colour of the ground is always placed first; then comes the nature of the "ordinaries" and "charges," the colour, or "tincture" of each following—unless they are all of one tincture, when this is added inclusively at the end.

Thus, in the Maunsell coat-of-arms, the ground is "argent," or silver; the chevron and the three maunches are all "sable," or black—not a decorative or attractive combination, the contrast being too violent to please the artistic eye.

It is held by some writers that there are degrees of merit or honour attached to certain devices and tinctures; as, for instance, that argent is the most "honourable" ground, as representing *light*; and that the chevron is a more honourable "ordinary" than others, as being symbolic of stability or strength. These distinctions have not, however, been recognised or ratified by the kings-at-arms or the College of Heralds; they are among the many more or less romantic embellishments which have from time to time been introduced by enthusiastic champions of a science which is surrounded, from its very nature and inception, by an aura of romance.

The period at which this coat-of-arms was assumed by the Maunsells, and whether it was first adopted by the English or French branches of the family, are matters which are necessarily veiled in obscurity. It could not have taken place until about a century after the Norman Conquest, and during this period it is quite possible, and even probable, that some of the bearers of the name had passed and repassed between France and England. This assumption is supported by the fact, already alluded to, that in the Battle Abbey Roll "Le Sieur de la Lande," of Normandy, appears among the list of those who accompanied the Conqueror, and that "Mansel de la Lande" is named by Vitou de Saint Allais as bearing a coat-of-arms identical with that of the English Maunsells.[1] The presumption is reasonable that the bearer of this coat-of-arms was a direct descendant of that Sieur de la Lande who came over in 1066; if the representative of this branch remained in England until the assumption of arms had become an established institution, the adoption of the chevron and three maunches may have been practically simultaneous on the part of the two branches in England: otherwise, it would appear probable that it was first adopted in France, as the French somewhat forestalled us in the matter of armory. The point must, however, be relegated to the region of conjecture: it is a matter, certainly, of some interest, but not of any intrinsic value. The identity of the blason is indicative either of imitation on one side or the other, or of collaboration: mere coincidence appears to be a somewhat remote contingency; possibly Le Sieur de la Lande was of the same family as Philip, the acknowledged progenitor of the English Maunsells. There is scope for a large amount of conjecture, but not much else, in the matter.

Such is the original Maunsell coat-of-arms; but, as is almost invariably the case with families of ancient descent, it has been modified and altered from time to time by various branches, or a totally different coat has been originally adopted by one or another, when armory came into vogue; for it cannot be safely assumed that Philip Mansel was the only one of his name who founded a family in England after the Conquest.

[1] See *ante*, p. 21.

These alterations involve more drastic and radical measures than those "differences" which indicate the seniority of the sons of one father. The practice of thus distinguishing the heir and his younger brothers was established very early in the history of heraldry; or, at least, the difference for the heir was so established, and it has always been a "label of three points." The only person who is entitled to use the coat-of-arms in its original form is the reigning head of the house, and the difference for the eldest son has gradually been extended until there is now a recognised scale, up to the ninth son: to wit—for the eldest son a label of three points; for the second, a crescent; for the third a mullet; for the fourth a martlet; for the fifth an annulet; for the sixth a fleur-de-lis; for the seventh a rose; for the eighth a cross moline; for the ninth a double quatrefoil.

The first six differences are of ancient institution, for they are referred to by John Bossewell in his "Workes of Armorie," published in the year 1572, as established and recognised at that time. The writer adds the following note: "That if there be any moe then six brethren, the device or assignment of further difference only appertaineth to ye Kings at Armes, especially when they visit their several provinces; and not to the father of ye children, to give them what difference he list, as some without authoritie do alledge." There is, however, a marginal note, in MS. of contemporary date, to the effect that some authority of whose name only the final letters "eigh" appear, adds *four* more differences, thus bringing the total to ten; the tenth is partially cut off, and not legible.[1]

The variations in the Maunsell coat-of-arms do not, however, arise from the presence of these "differences," which must necessarily apply to a different person with each generation. It is not easy

[1] "Workes of Armorie," by John Bossewell, gentleman. Book i., fol. 11. Ed. 1598. John Bossewell gives also a definition of the Manche: "Manche maltale is taken in arms to be a sleeve unshaped and unsewed"; and further on he has a shield—"Or, a Manche maltale Sable, Semie Margaritis proper." The sprinkling of the manche with pearls appears to be purely gratuitous, in order to afford the author an opportunity of indulging in romantic eulogy of the pearl, and its marvellous virtues.

Ibid., fols. 11 and 80. Probably the letters "eigh" above referred to signify Sir Francis Leigh, whose name appears in Thomas Hearne's "Curious Discourses" upon heraldry and many other subjects.

to tell, in most instances, what was the reason for assuming a different coat, unless, as has already been suggested, there were other Maunsells who founded families, and then, perhaps, returned to France, leaving a representative in England.

The Mansels of Cosgrove Hall, Northamptonshire, bear three maunches sable, without the chevron; those of Gloucestershire, gules, a fesse argent, a label of the second; those of Dorset, sable, a chevron between three mullets argent; those of Guildford, Surrey, or, three maunches sable on a chief gules, a lion passant gardant or; this was granted, according to Burke's "Armory," by Sir Edward Walker, the famous Garter king-at-arms of Stuart times. Another Mansell (or Maunsell—Burke spells the name in three different ways), reverses the tinctures, bearing *sable*, a chevron between three maunches *argent*; while yet another bears or, on a fesse dancettée gules, three lions rampant or.[1]

"The Maunsells of Somerset," says R. G. Maunsell, "in 1573 bore gules, a fesse or, between three jambes, argent." There are, however, two heralds' visitations of Somerset for that year in the Harley MSS., and they do not confirm this blason. They each give the Maunsell arms in the first quarter, the arms of Kingston and Furneaux being quartered with those of Maunsell. According to the tricked shields in these documents, the Maunsells, in 1573, bore either gules, a fesse argent; in chief a chevron; three maunches, two in chief—all of the second; or a similar blason, but with only one maunche. These maunches, or sleeves, are, however, quite different from the old "maunche mal-taillée" of the twelfth century; and this is remarked upon in "The History of the Noble Family of the Mansels," by J. W. Cl . . . . , to be noticed in the next chapter. He says: "From this Robert are descended the Maunsels of Somersetshire, who have made great alterations in their coat-of-arms, yet retain the three manches still, which they have converted into modern sleeves."[2] It is somewhat remarkable that Burke omits any reference to the Somerset Maunsells' coat, and tends to harden

[1] Burke's "General Armory."

[2] Harley MSS., 1585, 2218; Additional MSS. (Egerton), 2439.

a certain mistrust of these tricked arms which are the outcome of heralds' visitations, and which, in the visitations of 1597 involved the presentation of two different shields in the course of a few months.

Under *Maunsell*, Burke has another blason—sable, a chevron between three mullets pierced, or.

Baron Emly, of Tervoe, Co. Limerick, who is descended from John Maunsell, or Mansell, of Melcombe Regis, Co. Dorset (sixteenth century) bears a coat resembling that of the present Maunsells of Dorset, but with the tinctures transposed and the addition of a trefoil, [illegible] argent, on a chevron between three mullets, sable, a trefoil slipped, or.

"Differences," otherwise termed "cadency," may be indicated by changes of tinctures instead of the "label," etc., and the adoption by a branch of an entirely different coat of arms, or the drastic modification of the original, is exceedingly common, and often leaves no clue as to whom it has been effected.

Sir John Maunsell, the [illegible] Chancellor of Henry III., from a seal of his which was [illegible] appears to have borne crimes on a cross, five lions [illegible] [illegible] to be quite certain, however, that the [illegible] of some other John Maunsell, of a later date.

In the visitation of London [illegible] Thomas Maunsell, of Gray's Inn, [illegible] quarters, or, on a fesse dance [illegible] compant or the field; and in the second and third [illegible] between three falcons [illegible] of the field.

On the left hand [illegible] compiled in French by Gabriel Ogilvy [illegible] chapter there are four tricked coats of arms [illegible] from the top:

1. Argent, a chevron between three mauncles, sable "Mansel et Maunsell."

2. Sable, a fesse between [illegible] argent. "Mansel Lisieux."

3. [illegible] mullets argent, three bunches of grapes, or. "Mansel [illegible]."

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Sir John Maunsell, the great Chancellor of Henry III., from a seal of his which was recovered, appears to have borne ermine, on a cross, five lions passant gardant: it does not seem to be quite certain, however, that this was not the seal of some other John Maunsell, of a later date.

In the visitations of London, 1633 and 1634, Thomas Maunsell, of Gray's Inn, Esquire, bears, in the first and fourth quarters, or, on a fesse dancettée gules, three lions rampant of the field; and in the second and third quarters argent, on a chevron sable, between three falcons, gules, 2 and 1, three stags' heads, cabossed, of the field.

On the left-hand margin of a pedigree compiled in French by Gabriel Ogilvy—to be fully dealt with in another chapter—there are four tricked coats-of-arms, as follows, reckoning from the top:

1. Argent, a chevron between three maunches, sable. "Mansel et Maunsell."

2. Sable, a fesse between six escallops, argent. "Mancel, Lisieux."

3. Azure, semé of mullets argent, three bunches of grapes or. "Mansel de Sequeville."

4. Gules, a fess and in chief a label of three points argent. "Sir William Mauncell."

The first needs no comment; it has already been described as the original Maunsell coat.

The second, "Mancel, Lisieux," does not appear to be mentioned by Viton de Saint Allais; nor does this coat-of-arms fit in with any branch of the English Maunsells.[1]

The third, "Mansel de Secqueville," is of the branch already referred to in the previous chapter, as being mentioned in Viton de Saint Allais' "Nobiliaire Universelle de France": "Le Mancel, famille ancienne, originaire de Normandie. Chevillard, dans le nobiliaire de cette province, mentionne M. Le Mancel, écuyer, Sieur de Secqueville," etc. A descendant of this Mancel married, in England, Matilda Sophia, daughter of John Potts, Esquire, of Cheshire.

The fourth shield, "Sir William Mauncell," is identical with that of the Gloucester Maunsells, as given in Burke's "General Armory," and displayed by that knight at Agincourt under Henry V.

These shields on Gabriel Ogilvy's document do not serve any useful purpose; they are merely embellishments, probably intended to enhance the general aspect of antiquity of the whole. It was necessary, however, to allude to them, as the pedigree is reproduced and fully described further on.

The number of different Maunsell shields alluded to in various volumes and documents is, indeed, quite embarrassing; some, no doubt, are apocryphal—such, for instance, as those which are tricked on the visitations of Somerset in 1573, already referred to.

In "The English Crusaders," by James C. Dansey, there is an allusion to Robert de Maunsell, who, during the Second Crusade, was concerned in a successful surprise attack upon the Sultan Nourredin, in company with Gilbert de Lacy, as will be presently related. The author gives Sir Robert a shield similar to that of Sir William—gules, a fesse argent, but without the label.

In the same volume, among those who fought in the Third

[1] In "Nobiliaire de Normandie," by F. L. Chevillard, however, this shield is labelled, "Mancel, Ecuyer, Sieur de Houredere." R. G. Maunsell (p. 5) wrongly attributes this coat to Jean le Mancel, lord of Secqueville.

Crusade under Richard I., appears: "Dru de Muncellis was in Palestine. He bore gules, three mullets, or. The family seat was Foscote, in Somersetshire." There is a reference in the margin to a History of Somersetshire, presumably Collinson's, which is quoted by so many writers.

Collinson says (under Foxcote or Fosscot): "When it came to the Conqueror's hands by his advancement to the crown of England, he bestowed the manor on Gefirey, bishop of Coutances, under whom it was held by William de Muncellis, or Monceaux . . . after the Conquest this place had owners of its own name, but their residence was in Wiltshire," etc. It does not appear to follow from this that Muncell or Monceaux held it as the "family seat" in the reign of Richard I. Collinson refers, quite correctly, to Domesday and Liber Niger Scaccarii in support of his statements. It is, moreover, merely an assumption that *Munsellis* or *Monceaux* is identical with Maunsell; the Somerset Maunsells, so far as is known, never bore this coat.

John Guillim, in his "Display of Heraldry," gives a coat—gules, a bend cottised argent, between six cross-crosslets, or [1]—as having been confirmed by Wm. Flower, Norroy king-at-arms, to Lancelot Manfeld of Skirpenbeck, Yorks., Sept. 20, 1563. John Manfield, his eldest son, was of Hatton on Derwent, in the county of York.

Elsewhere he has a more solid and obvious reference to the Maunsell family: "He beareth Argent, a Chevron between three Maunches Sable, by the name of Maunsell, a spreading and worthy family in Glamorganshire, and other Welch counties. The chief ornament of which is Sir Edward Maunsell of Margam in Glamorganshire, Baronet. This Coat, with a due difference, is borne by Richard Mansell of Iscoed in Carmarthenshire, Gent."

And again: "He beareth Argent, a Tower Sable, having a scaling Ladder raised against it in Bend Sinister or. This coat is quartered by Sir Edward Maunsell, Kt. The Ladder thus raised

[1] The bend is not cottised, however, in the annexed cut of the coat-of-arms. Manfeld may be identical with Maunsell or Mansel; the coat-of-arms is different from that of all other Maunsells.

against the Tower may put us in mind to stand carefully upon our Guard, who live in this world, as in a castle continually assaulted by our spiritual and corporal enemies, that cease not evermore to plot and put in execution whatsoever tendeth to our Destruction." [1]

The king-at-arms who awarded the coat, in company with the recipient, were probably more concerned with the scaling of the tower to oust a "corporal" adversary than with any of the more timid if moral reflections of the good Guillim.

In "Feudal Coats-of-Arms," by Joseph Foster, the following shields are assigned to several Maunsells:

John Maunsell (Edward I. Roll): Sable, a chevron between three mullets pierced, or. Jenyns' Roll.

Thomas and Sir William Maunsell, of Co. Gloucester (Edward II. Roll): Gules, a fesse argent, a label argent, sometimes or. St. George and Parliamentary Rolls. Jenyns' ordinary; ascribed to another William in Dering Roll.

William Le Maunsell, 1287: Argent, a chevron between three maunches sable. Shirley.[2]

It is possible that this William le Maunsell was the first to bear the chevron and three maunches; both he and John Maunsell, as above, are of the time of Edward I., but the date of the assumption of the coat-of-arms is in either case quite uncertain, as no register was kept until about a century later.

In the year 1846 a brass seal of the time of Henry VI. was found near the Reculvers, on the Kentish coast. It bears the arms of Thomas Maunsell—or, on a fesse dancettée gules, three lions rampant argent, impaling vairé: the crest is a bird. (This may be compared with the shield of Thomas Maunsell of Gray's Inn, as set forth in the London visitations of 1633 and 1634, described above, though the tincture is different in one respect.)

This seal was exhibited before the British Archæological Association in 1847, and on that occasion Mr. J. R. Planché, Somerset herald, a well-known authority on heraldry, stated that "the arms

[1] Pp. 77, 301, 305. Ed. 1724.

[2] "Some Feudal Coats-of-Arms and Pedigrees," by Joseph Foster; p. 139. 1902.

of Maunsell in the Heralds' College are not dated, and he has not yet found the pedigree."[1]

Some other Maunsell shields, with quarterings, will be more conveniently dealt with in connection with those branches of the family to which they appertain.

The adoption of the crest was of a later date than that of the armorial shield or coat-of-arms. The earliest known instance of a crest is to be found on the Great Seal of Richard I.; here there is displayed a lion, painted upon the fan-shaped ornament which surmounts the helmet. It is, however, more or less of an embryo; the crest proper was a later development.

The crest originated, no doubt, in the desire to adorn the helmet. At first these were painted, somewhat fantastically; later the device which appeared upon the shield was reproduced upon the helmet. Following this fashion, and still with the aim of decoration, a fan-shaped erection was placed on the helmet, which possessed also the merit of increasing its resistance to a sword-cut; finally, the fan itself was decorated with some device, a replica of that borne upon the shield, or some such thing; and this is the true origin of the crest; the name is derived from the Latin "crista," a cock's comb.

It is not probable that crests ever had any practical use on the battlefield, as was the case with armorial devices; they were chiefly adopted as ornaments, and did not come into general use until long after the assumption of coats-of-arms: so that, while the bearing of armor, without the addition of a crest, was for many years rather the rule than the exception, the wearing of a crest alone was unheard of: nor has the right to display a crest ever been accorded except where the right to bear arms already existed.

It was not, indeed, until the latter part of the sixteenth century that crests were granted to any great extent: there appears then to have been a sudden demand for them, and since that time the assumption of a crest with the coat-of-arms has been held to be a matter of course.

The crest was attached to the helmet by means of ribbons,

[1] Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc. Vol. ii., p. 342. 1847.

straps, laces, etc., which custom has led to the adoption of the "torse"—the conventional kind of twisted bar which usually supports the crest, the helmet being more frequently than not omitted, or very much in abeyance.

Three different crests have been adopted by the Maunsell family, *viz.* :

A falcon rising, proper.

A cap of maintenance gules, turned up ermine, and inflamed at the top, proper.

A griffin's head erased.

There are also several different mottoes attached to the coats-of-arms ; in this matter there is no restriction ; anyone may choose his motto without let or hindrance, and the fact that it has also been adopted elsewhere does not constitute a disability.

Fairbairn, in his "Book of Crests," assigns the following crests and mottoes to the Mansels and Maunsells, *viz.* :

Mansel, on a mount a buck lodged, all proper.

Mansel of Cosgrave Hall, Northants, on a chapeau gules, turned up ermine, a falcon rising, proper. Motto : Quod vult valde vult.

Mansel, Robert Henry, Esq., of the Broadtower, Caerleon, Monmouth, and Maindiff Castle, Abergavenny, a falcon rising or, holding in the beak a lily, leaved and stripped proper, and supporting with the dexter leg two swords in saltire, points upwards, also proper ; pommels and hilts or. Motto : Constanter tamen fortiter.

Mansel, Sir Courtenay Cecil, of Muddlescombe, Carmarthenshire, Ernest Digby, Esq., Eustace Garnier, Esq., Lieut.-Col. John Delalynde, of Smedmore, Dorset—all a cap of maintenance inflamed on the top, all proper. Motto : Quod vult valde vult.

Mansell, an eagle rising, proper.

Mansell, a hawk rising, proper. Motto : Quod vult valde vult.

Mansell, an arm embowed and vested, holding in the hand a pair of scales equally poised.

Maunsell of Ballywilliam, Rev. Henry Cecil of Thorpe Malson Hall, General Sir Frederick Reichard, K.C.B., of Laleham,

Middlesex. Richard Mark Symmot, Esq., of Oakly Park, Co. Kildare, Ven. Robert, LL.D., of Auckland, New Zealand—all a hawk rising, proper. Motto: Honorantes me honorabo.

Maunsell of Plassy and Bank Hall, Co. Limerick, a chapeau inflamed at the top, proper. Motto: Quod vult valde vult—Honorantes me honorabo.

Mauncell, Ireland, a lion rampant, vert.

Mauncell, a griffin's head erased per pale indented argent and gules, beaked azure, and charged on the neck with a rose counter-changed.

Sir Jenkin Mansel is said to have adopted as his motto, on the occasion of a tournament, Perit sine adversario virtus.[1]

The flaming cap of maintenance is said to have been adopted by the Mansels of Muddescombe in honour of Sir Robert Maunsell's exploit against Nourredin, in the year 1163.

The only branch of the family which has ever been qualified to display *supporters* to the coat-of-arms is that of Margam, by virtue of the barony which existed therein, but which is now extinct; the bearing of supporters being the privilege of a peer.

Supporters have been in vogue from the early days of heraldry, and usually take the form either of human figures or beasts, fabulous and otherwise.

The supporters of the Mansel shield are: Dexter, a falcon, wings expanded and belled or; Sinister, a griffin, wings expanded per pale indented argent and gules.

The *mantling*, or *lambrequin*, is the ornamental draping, or flourished design, which is often seen depending from the helmet in armorial designs. Its origin is believed to have lain in the custom adopted by crusaders of protecting themselves from the great heat of the Eastern sun upon their helmets by means of some textile covering. Like the fan-shaped metal comb or crest already alluded to, this mantling had also its protective uses, tending to break the severity of a sabre-cut.

Eventually it developed into a mere heraldic ornament, and

[1] Cambrian Register. Vol. i., p. 25.

is sometimes of a very fantastic design; more frequently it assumes the form of more or less elaborate scrolls, or conventional leaves; it is traditional that these should be "slashed," or deeply indented, with the idea, as is maintained by some writers, of indicating the ragged appearance of a warrior's helmet-covering after a fierce encounter. This notion is, however, rather too far-fetched, and is ridiculed in some quarters.

The gift of a fair lady's sleeve, as a favour to be worn upon the helmet, suggests the idea that it might have been made to serve the purpose of mantling as well as the other, or, at least, that it would so serve, whether by design or otherwise, being so exceedingly ample in its proportions. Probably, also, the sleeve would display the armorial colours of the lady's family, as was the old custom in their dress, more especially on the occasion of a tournament or other display of arms.

The mantling has later been frequently enlarged and elaborated, so as to form a sort of background to the whole shield, etc.

In R. G. Maunsell's book (p. 4), the Maunsell coat and crest is represented, with a mantling of conventional foliated design; the author does not state whence the drawing was obtained.

NOTE.—With regard to the crest attributed to Robert Henry Mansel (p. 31), from Fairbairn's "Book of Crests," Mr. R. G. Maunsell states (Appendix 74, p. 1[illegible]) that this Robert Henry is the son of Robert Shum Mansel, of Rothbury, Northumberland, born 1823, who was the son of Robert Mansel by his marriage with Jane, daughter of Robert Storey, of Arcot Hall, Northumberland. It is worthy of note, however, that in *The Times* of July 26, 1862, there appears the advertisement by Robert Shum Coward, late of Rothbury, Northumberland, of his assumption of the name of Mansel. It would appear, therefore, that Mr. R. G. Maunsell must have been misinformed, and that Robert Shum Mansel (late Coward) was the first of this family to bear the name. Mr. Fox Davies, in "Armorial Families" (Sixth Edition, 1910), attributes to Robert Henry Mansel, of Caerleon, Monmouth, and Maindiff Castle, Abergavenny, son of Robert Shum Mansel, a coat-of-arms, viz., gules, on a chevron argent three martlets sable, on a chief of the second two maunches of the third, with a crest as represented by Fairbairn. No authority for the assumption of these arms has been discovered in the College of Arms.

A Glossary of the Heraldic Terms used in this Chapter

ARGENT. Silver or white.
AZURE. Blue.
BAR. A narrow or diminutive fesse, straight across the shield.
BELLED. Applied to the hawk, which often has bells affixed.
BEND. A broad band contained in two lines running diagonally across the shield from the dexter chief to the sinister base.

BOWED. Embowed or arched; of an arm, bent.

CABOSSED. The head of a beast displaying only the full mask.

CHAPEAU, or CAP OF MAINTENANCE. A headgear of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine.

CHEVRON. Two parallel lines from dexter base, meeting two from sinister base, in a point, about the fesse point.

CHIEF. The whole upper portion of the shield, separated from the remainder by a fesse, or other line.

COTISE. A diminutive of the bend, one fourth of its width; when borne on each side of the bend, it is termed a bend cottised.

CROSS CROSSLETT. A cross with arms of equal length, each crossed near its extremity by a short member, thus forming four more minor crosses, or crossletts.

CROSS MOLINE. A cross with arms of equal length, slightly concave in outline, the extremity of each arm being divided into three parts, the two outer diverging.

DANCETTEE. Indentation of a fesse, etc., in very large and wide teeth.

DEXTER. The right-hand side of the shield, as regarded from behind by the holder of it; and therefore the *left*-hand side as viewed from the front.

ERASED. The head or member of a beast, etc., represented as forcibly torn from the body, displaying jagged portions at the point of severance. (A member which is cut off with a clean, straight edge is termed "couped.")

ERMINE. A white field with black spots.

FESSE. A broad horizontal band, contained by straight or other lines, taking up one third of the centre of the shield.

FIELD. The whole surface of the escutcheon, upon which the charges, etc., are displayed.

GRIFFIN, or GRYPHON. An imaginary animal, the upper half that of an eagle, the lower half that of a lion.

GULES. The colour or tincture red.

INFLAMED. Burning in flames.

LABEL. A piece of silk stuff, or lines with three pendants. Generally used as a mark of cadence. (A label may, however, have four or more points or pendants.)

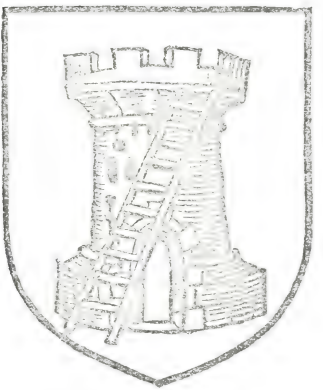
LION RAMPANT. Heraldic lion, on hind legs, fore legs wide apart in air, side of body and face presented.

MARTLET. A fabulous bird, shaped like a martin or swallow, without legs, but with two tufts of feathers under the body.

MULLET. The rowel of a spur, usually of five points in English heraldry. When borne of more points, the number is expressed in the blason.

ARMS OF WALTER MAUNSELL.
(Shirley Roll, 1387.)

1. SEAL [illegible] OF JOHN MAUNSELL, PROVOST OF BEVERLEY
2. SEAL OF THOMAS MAUNSELL, OF YORKS AND KENT.



ARMS OF SIR EDWARD MANSEL
[illegible]

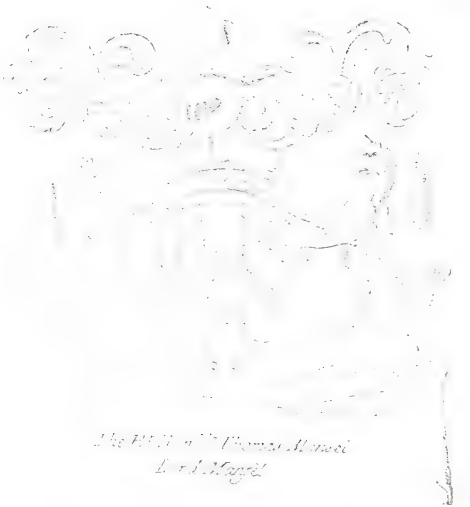
SEAL OF SIR EDWARD MANSEL
(Original of Margam.)

Quarterings as given in "Surveys of Gower and Kilvey, etc." (Cambrian Archæological Association, page 115.)

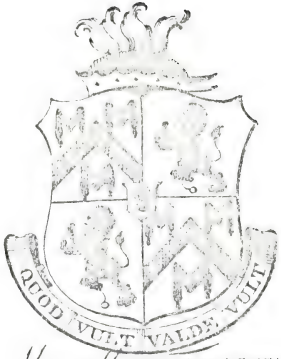
1. Mansel.	6. De Brewes (Bruose).
2. [illegible]	7. [illegible]
3. [illegible]	8. [illegible]
4. [illegible]	9. [illegible]
5. [illegible]	10. [illegible]

The Bruose of [illegible], Suffolk, with whom the Mansels were [illegible] by marriage of Sir Robert, [illegible] Sir Edward, [illegible] the end of the [illegible] century, [illegible] according to Burke's [illegible] of Arg. two [illegible] [illegible]

The [illegible] of Bruose agrees with Burke, but not with that on Sir Rhys Mansel's shield [illegible] Sir Rhys.

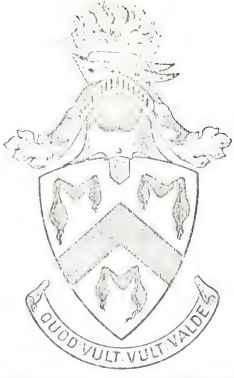


ARMS OF THE RT. HONBLE. THOMAS MANSEL,
LORD MANSEL.
(Book Plate.)



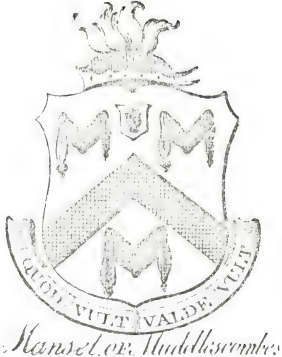
Mansell of Trimsaran

ARMS OF MANSEL OF
TRIMSAREN



What he wishes he wishes powerfully

SIR CECIL COURTENEY MANSEL
OF MUDDLESCOMBE

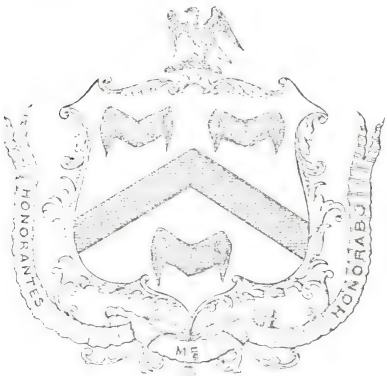


Mansel of Muddlescombe

ARMS OF MANSEL OF
MUDDLESCOMBE

Thomas Redgate Maunsell Esq.

ARMS OF THOMAS REDGATE MAUNSELL ESQ.
MOUNTSION



MAUNSELL OF BALLYWILLIAMS

MANSELL OF THORPE MALSOR,
NORTHANTS.

MULLET, PIERCED. The same as the mullet, but perforated in the centre, allowing the tincture upon which it is borne to be seen through it.

OR. The tincture gold or yellow.

PALE. Formed by two lines drawn perpendicularly from top to base of the shield, comprising one third of the whole.

PROPER. Any animal, tree, vegetable, or other object borne of its natural colour.

RISING. Of birds, when represented as preparing to take flight.

SALTIRE is formed like the diagonal cross of St. Andrew, the arms extending to the four corners of the shield at top and base.

SEMÉ or SEMÉE. Strewed over, powdered with.

SINISTER. The left-hand side of the shield, as regarded from behind by the holder of it; and therefore the *right*-hand side as viewed from the front.

SLIPPED. The stalk represented as though torn from the original stem.

TREFOIL. Three-leaved grass.

VAIRÉ. Originally fur; now represented by blue and silver cups, opposed to each other in rows.

VERT. The colour green.

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CHAPTER III

Derivation and Early Genealogy

THE early generations of a family of ancient descent may very well, in common with the origin of the name, become the field of lively controversy, and may ultimately, after every champion has had his tilt at the problem, remain involved in greater or less obscurity.

After a certain period has been covered, including perhaps some six or seven generations, according to the antiquity of origin, the task of the genealogist and biographer becomes more easy with each succeeding generation; but the authentic record of derivation and descent, during the period anterior to this stage, is a task which presents immense difficulties.

Not only is the supply of apparently reliable evidence extremely scanty, but close scrutiny will very frequently deprive it of all semblance of authenticity—will reveal it, in some instances, as the subterfuge of an interested scribe with a special axe to grind, or the not more admirable effusion of an easy-going or amenable herald, who finds it worth his while to pander to the genealogical ambitions of a wealthy and important family.

The question as to what constitutes an "authority" is a point, moreover, upon which it is very obvious that writers on genealogy and kindred subjects have agreed—or at least have determined—to differ. The document which is quoted by one writer with an air of finality, a "Roma locuta est" kind of attitude, another will demonstrate to be a makeshift, a forgery, wrongly transcribed, or what not, and absolutely valueless in proof of anything whatsoever. We have all fallen foul at times of these ferocious contradictors, with their contemptuous adjectives, their assumption of a monopoly of information on the subject. Not infrequently they are

in the right, but by no means invariably so; and they are always somewhat disconcerting to the enquirer who is honestly endeavouring to arrive at the correct solution of some knotty problem in genealogy or inheritance.

There is nothing to be gained, however, by dwelling upon these difficulties, nor is there much hope of assistance in generalisation. The task which is now presented for accomplishment is that of recording, as accurately as possible, the derivation and descent of the family of Maunsell; and it is proposed to proceed with this on the lines above indicated: *viz.*, to determine, first, as far as is possible, the genealogical details down to a certain point or period, after which it becomes increasingly easy and simple; and the method which obviously suggests itself as most probable to lead to satisfactory results is as follows. First, study what other writers have said upon the matter, verify their references, examine carefully whether the deductions they draw from various authorities are just and reasonable, compare the results, then bring in whatever independent evidence may have been gained in the course of the investigation and strike a mean as just and true as is possible. This, in the case of a family which traces its ancestry back for a thousand years, is about as much as is usually possible. True, there are always to be found writers who, confounding assertion with history, will venture on the most absolute statements, without giving any reference or authority; they may often be correct, but even so, and more so, they are not doing either their work or themselves justice, unless they give chapter and verse.

Entering with this spirit upon the present task, the work which naturally comes first is that by W. W. Mansell, to which copious allusion has already been made; and it is convenient to state at this juncture that the period which it is proposed to include in this early comparison and investigation is that which ends with Sir John Maunsell—a very great man, of whom there will be much to say presently—of the time of Henry III.

The selection of this period, with the termination of Sir John's career as a definite landmark, affords a valuable test as to the probable accuracy of various writers.

It appears to be universally accepted that the family of Maunsell, or Mansel, is derived from one Philip Mansel, who came over with William of Normandy in 1066; and this unanimity on the part of a considerable number of more or less interested writers should certainly carry weight. It must be admitted, however, that the actual evidence adduced in support of this contention is not precisely convincing.

Mr. W. W. Mansell commences with the statement that, among the manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library in Paris, is a book entitled "Armoires et Genealogie de la Famille de Mancel," and that the account commences: "Adinoffe, grand chamberlain de Guillaume, eut pour petit fils, ou pour nepheu, Phillipe." Whether Mr. Mansell had seen this book, or where he heard of it, he does not say, nor is it accessible for present reference. This is much to be regretted, as it would no doubt afford some valuable information as to the origin of the family, the coat-of-arms, and so forth. This deficiency, however, since it cannot be remedied, must be accepted; but it does appear somewhat unsatisfactory that, having had access, vicariously or otherwise, to this document, the author should not have availed himself further of its contents. The sentence quoted proves nothing whatever, beyond the facts that there existed in France or Normandy a family bearing the name of Mancel, and that one Adinoffe, great chamberlain to William, Duke of Normandy, had a grandson or nephew named Philip. The assumption that this Philip came to England with the Conqueror, and was the ancestor of the Maunsells, is purely gratuitous. There may be some further evidence of a more definite character, but it is not brought forward; and it is not easy to understand why this bald statement is set forth, with a certain air of conviction, as the root and ground of the whole argument. No doubt Adinoffe was great chamberlain to William—his name does not appear in French biographies, nor, as far as can be seen, in any history of the Conquest—and it is tolerably well established that one or more Mansels or Mancels came over at that time, and played their part at the Battle of Hastings and afterwards; though the nearest approach to direct evidence on this point is to be found in the Roll of Battle Abbey, which has already been

discussed in relation to the Maunsells—a respectable, but by no means an infallible witness. It is advisable to draw attention to this partial initiatory disability; but to insist too strongly upon it would perhaps be hypercritical. The absolute unanimity of all subsequent writers and records cannot reasonably be ignored, even though they fail in adducing any adequate evidence in support of their contention; and it may therefore be accepted as fact that one Philip Mansel did accompany William the Conqueror, and became the ancestor of the English family of Mansel, or Maunsell.

Furthermore, Mr. Mansell tells us, this Philip was nephew to Sir Henry Harley (spelt also d'Erlé, Erly, Erley, etc., in various documents), a powerful knight, with great possessions; a statement which at once induces some reflection, for he is said also to be related by close ties of blood to the Conqueror's chamberlain, Adinoffe. The fact of Philip's relationship to Sir Henry Harley is not mentioned, as will be seen, by every authority; by one, indeed, it is very strongly questioned, and not without some ground. This point will recur later.

The next event on record with regard to Philip is that he received from his uncle a free grant of land. Upon this point there is some difference of opinion; it is roundly stated by several writers that Philip received the Manor of Oxwich, in Gower, county Glamorgan, from his uncle, while others point out the improbability of such a circumstance. This also will be further considered in dealing with the evidence adduced by Mr. Mansell.

It is practically certain, however, that Philip Maunsell obtained, most probably from Sir Henry Harley, an estate somewhere, and that he married a daughter of Hugh de Montsorrel, or Mountsorel, of Leicestershire. There is absolute unanimity in the records upon this point; but after this the troubles of the genealogist commence.

That Philip had male issue, all are agreed; but the number of his sons, their names, their precedence in age, their positions as progenitors of the main line or of branches—concerning these matters there is the widest divergence.

To begin with W. W. Mansell: he says that Philip had five

sons, *viz.*, Henry, Philip, Robert, Michael, and Andrew; and that Henry, the eldest son, had two sons, John and Herbert; and in proof of all this he gives as references Harleian MSS., Nos. 886, 1385, 1557, 1559, 1975, 1976, 2218, 5871, 6831, in the British Museum—a respectable array of witnesses, in the eyes of most people; and indeed, there is no intention of calling in question the general value of this kind of evidence—with reservation.

It is necessary, however, to guard against the assumption, often too readily adopted, that antiquity in a document is a guarantee of veracity; an attitude which is akin to the very commonly accepted idea that a painting, if it be by an old master, is, *ipso facto*, beautiful.

Let these witnesses, therefore, submit to some cross-examination.

Taking them in numerical order, a very careful and repeated scrutiny of No. 886 has failed to discover any reference whatsoever therein to the sons of Philip Maunsell, or, indeed, to any member of the family. The document is described as Heralds' Visitations of Derby and Notts, 1569, and of Staffs, 1566.

No. 1385, Visitation of Somerset, in 1573, mentions only one son of Philip, a nameless; from this Philip II. is traced, very roughly, the descent of Sir John Maunsell, *temp.* Henry III., through two Johns and two Henrys, in direct succession; while from Robert, son of Philip II., the derivation of the Maunsells of Maunsell, in Somerset, is shown, and is brought down to a much later period. The derivation of the family of La Caile, together with that of Furneaux, which became united with the Maunsels by marriage, is also shown; this, however, does not claim attention at the moment; the points to be noticed are that this MS. mentions only *one* son of Philip Maunsell, and that it traces the descent of Sir John Maunsell through six generations—a fact to be borne in mind.

No. 1557. Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1634. As in the case of No. 886, careful examination has failed to reveal any allusion whatever to the Maunsell family; possibly these two numbers are quoted in error; it is a very easy and common slip to transpose two figures.

No. 1559. These are Visitations of Somerset in 1573, 1591,

1623. There is the same pedigree of the Maunsells of Maunsell as in No. 1385, with the La Caile connection; no other pedigree, and no mention of any son of Philip, except Philip II. The table of contents in this volume alludes to some other entry concerning the Maunsells, but a long examination failed to find it; the compilers of these collections are usually exceedingly wild in their paging and indexing.

No. 1975. "Pedigrees of South Wales"; no date or author.[1] Herein it is stated that Philip Maunsell came over with the Conqueror, was nephew to Sir Henry Harley, and married a daughter of Mountsorel, by whom he had four sons, *viz.*, Henry, Philip, Andrew, and Nicholas. The pedigree of the Maunsells of Maunsell is traced from Philip II., while from Henry are derived, in immediate succession, Sir John and Sir Thomas; then Henry, Sir Walter, Sir Robert, Robert, then Richard, who married the daughter of Sir Philip Scurlage. The descent appears to be rather wild, and Sir John, be it noted, comes only *two* generations from Philip I.

No. 1976. Pedigrees of South Wales, compiled by Randal Holme, of Chester. There are in this collection a number of Welsh pedigrees, teeming with "aps," and names composed chiefly of consonants. The compiler, Randal (or Randle) Holme, was not unknown as a genealogist,[2] and his records should be entitled to respect. Apparently, however, he was more interested in purely Welsh families than in others, and his pedigree of the Maunsells is quite valueless. It commences, apparently, with Sir John, *temp.* Henry III., and traces the family perfunctorily through Sir Thomas, Henry, Walter, Robert, Robert, Richard, to Hugo (Hugh ?). It may be worth while, later on, to refer to this MS. in connection with the Welsh Mansels; the object with which it is cited by W. W. Mansell,

[1] It is, however, undoubtedly compiled by Randal Holme. See footnote, *post*.

[2] There were four generations of Randle Holmes, all genealogists. The first was a man of some position in Chester in the seventeenth century, and was local deputy to the Earl Marshal, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, a very autocratic person. Holme appears to have been very unpunctual, and was more than once in trouble in consequence. On the last occasion he fell foul of the Earl of Arundel, and was heavily fined. The MSS. collected by the Holme family were purchased by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, and were eventually placed among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, Nos. 1020 to 2180.

as testifying to the names of the sons and grandsons of Philip I., is not attained.

No. 2218. Pedigrees of Yorkshire and Durham families. Here is the same story about Philip Maunsell, Sir Henry Harley, etc. His marriage is not alluded to, but five sons are mentioned, in the following order: Andrew, John, Robert, Michael, Philip; so here is another version. John is new, Henry and Nicholas disappear. The descent also differs from others, in that the newly introduced John is placed as the progenitor of the main line, the other four sons of Philip being ignored, thus:

PHILIP MANSEL.
|
JOHN MANSEL.
|
JOHN MANSEL.
|
MANSEL (died before his father)
|
HENRY MANSEL (was receiver of the Harleys in Wales).
|
(HEN. III.) Sir JOHN MANSEL, Knt., and Chf. Justice of England: mar. to Joan, dau. to Simon ye 6th Ld. Beauchamp, by whom he had no issue; she afterwards became a nun; he was before mar. to dau. and heir of Sir Philip Long, Knt.

The subsequent pursuance of the descent in this document need not be considered for the moment; it is sufficient to note that there is here another version of the sons of Philip Maunsell; and that Sir John Maunsell is placed at five generations from Philip.

No. 5871. Somerset Visitation, sixteenth century. The pedigree of Maunsell of Maunsell is traced more fully, with the La Caile connection; no mention is made of any son of Philip, except Philip II. Further details, as to his landing with the Conqueror, receiving land from Sir Henry Harley, his marriage with the daughter of Mountsorrel, are given as in the other MSS.—"by whom he had many children"; no names given.

No. 6831. Pedigrees of English and Welsh families; collected by Hugh Thomas.

Whoever this Hugh Thomas may have been, he was a most industrious collector of genealogical information. This is a huge volume of closely-written matter. "The Pedigree and Descent of the Noble Family of Mansel of Margam in Glamorganshire" commences at folio 389, a long way from the end of the volume.

This account by Hugh Thomas is the only one which gives the sons of Philip Maunsell, in names and number, in agreement with W. W. Mansell; and he is not in accord as to their seniority. Having stated that Philip Mansel, according to Vincent, came over with the Conqueror, and so forth, he enumerates his sons—Andrew, Henry, Robert, Michael, and Philip; then, in a fresh start which he makes on another page, he brings in entirely new matter. Perhaps it will be as well to transcribe the passage *verbatim*:

"The first of this noble family I can find any mention of is Philip Mansel, who had issue a son called John, which John Mansel, according to an old manuscript in the Harleian Library, 62, c. 14 of Cornwel, etc., went out of England, and came into England with William the Conqueror; and this manuscript giving the most particular account of the family, I shall chiefly follow till the time of King Henry 8th; that is for the first 17 generations. But Vincent of Wales, pt. ii., p. 768, saith this Philip came into England with William the Conqueror, and was nephew to Sir Henry Harley, or Early, a knight of great possessions, who gave the said Philip the manor of Oxwich, where he built a house, and by the daughter of Mountsorrel had issue Andrew, Henry—receiver for the Harleys in Wales—Robert, Michael, and Philip. This account seems very improbable; if this Philip was a Norman it is not probable he would be nephew to a Harley, that were ancient Saxons; or if he were, this lordship Oxwich could not be in Wales, Glamorgan not being conquered till the time of William Rufus, and the Harleys not having lands there until long after the De la Mares, being Lords of Oxwich in Glamorganshire several ages, from whom it descended to the Mansels, as appears more probable by the aforesaid manuscript in the Harleian Library; by which it appears there was three generations between this Philip and the first Henry of the family, to which agrees all our Welsh manuscripts; therefore this account of Vincent must needs be spoken of another Philip much later. This

"(2) John Mansel above mentioned, son to Philip, went out of England to Normandy, and came in again with William the Conqueror, and had issue

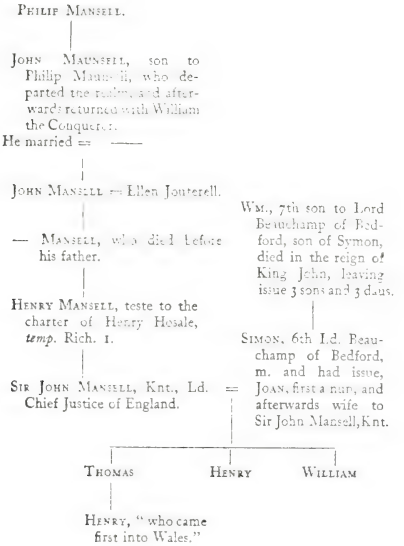
"(3) John Mansel, who, by Helen Joynterel his wife had issue, a son that died before him, whose name is forgotten—this son I take to be that

"(4) Philip Mansel mentioned by Vincent, the nephew of Sir Henry Harley, who gave his family their first possessions in Wales, the Harleys about this time being powerful men in the Marches of Wales; from henceforward Vincent agreeing with the above mentioned manuscript of my Lord of Oxford and all our Welsh manuscripts; and dying before his father left issue a son,

"(5) Henry, who, according to the Earl of Oxford's manuscript, was Teste to the Charter of Henry Hosale in the time of Richard the 1st; and by Vincent receiver of the Harleys in Wales, and left issue

"(6) Sir John Mansel. . . ." etc.

Thus far Hugh Thomas; the manuscript to which he alludes, 62, c. 14, probably the original classification adopted by Robert Harley, is now No. 891 in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and consists of a pedigree, as under:



It is not necessary at present to trace the pedigree further; there is an interesting point concerning Sir John's wife, Joan, which will be considered later. The spelling of the name varies, as here shown, in the original.

Mr. Mansell's witnesses have now been subjected to cross-examination, and it must be admitted that they have not come very well out of it.

They were to prove that Philip Maunsell had five sons: Henry, Philip, Robert, Michael, and Andrew. Only one of them has these names precisely; he gives them in a different order, and then discounts his whole testimony by introducing another son, John, and asserting that there was no Henry until three generations from Philip.

Another witness omits Henry and puts in John; another has a Nicholas; and the remainder only mention Philip II.

The witnesses were also to prove that Henry, the alleged eldest son of Philip, had two sons, John and Herbert; one mentions *Sir* John, a son of Henry, but this is almost certainly intended for the great Sir John of the time of Henry III., though sadly out of his proper generation! Not one of them has any mention whatever of Herbert, a son of Henry. The genealogy in all these documents is, in fact, exceedingly meagre and uninstructive, except with regard to the Maunsells of Maunsell, in Somerset, whose pedigree is given in detail several times over—a fact which is sufficiently accounted for by the preponderance of Somerset Visitations.

These MSS., however, although they fail to establish that which was required of them, contain nevertheless some interesting material; and it may be found that Mr. Mansell has produced evidence which considerably discounts some of his own conclusions.

Before proceeding further with the genealogy according to W. W. Mansell, it is well to notice a MS. to which he draws attention; it is No. 12477 in the Additional MSS. collection, and is a copy of Heralds' Visitations of Somerset and Lancashire. It is here stated that "Philip Maunsell came into England with William the Conqueror, and after served one Sir Henry Early, a famous knight and of great possessions, who gave unto the said Philip a mansion, upon

the wch he bilded a place, and maryed the daughr of Montsorrel, by whom he had many children. The said Philip had, in the parishe of Pyderton, by Erle's grant, and his own purchas, £40 land. His 2 sone maryed in Wales; his 3 sone maryed in ——; his 4 sone in Yorkshir."

The name of Pyderton, so spelt, is not to be found in the County Histories, or in Domesday records, concerning any territory which could be reasonably accepted as the site of Philip Maunsell's estate; it is, however, possibly another form of Petherton, in Somerset, though there is no record of land being held there at this period, either by Sir Henry Harley or Philip Maunsell. There will be occasion to return to this subject later.

W. W. Mansell does not pretend to settle definitely the county in which Philip Maunsell, having received a grant from his uncle, took up his abode; he throws some doubt upon the oft-repeated statement about Oxwich, and then proceeds: "Henry Maunsell, Philip's eldest son, was, according to all the early pedigrees, receiver of Herle's rents in South Wales." One of the MSS. upon which he relies for his genealogy, however, places Henry, "receiver of the Harleys in Wales," four generations after Philip; this is No. 2218 Harley; and in No. 6831 this Henry is placed five generations from Philip. It has yet to be seen how far those statements are reliable, or compatible with others perhaps more reliable; but Mr. Mansell does not inspire confidence by thus referring to documents which do not prove his case, and ignoring those which call in question his statements or deductions.

Following up the genealogy, the writer says: "Henry, the eldest son of Philip, married, but it does not appear to whom, and was father of John and Herbert." There is considerable weight of evidence to show that Henry's eldest son was John; but, as has already been pointed out, there is nothing whatever to prove that he had a son Herbert. Mr. Mansell, however, *malgré* the failure of the Harleian witnesses, insists with confidence upon his existence, and has a good deal to say about him. "Herbert was, for some time, Treasurer of Selkirk Abbey, in Scotland, and on the death of the Abbot was unanimously elected to fill his vacancy; being third

Abbot of that monastery, which was a cell founded by the Earl of Northumberland, afterwards King David I., for monks from the Abbey of St. Martin de Turonibus, in the diocese of Chartres. From Selkirk they removed to Roxburgh, and from thence to Teviotdale, where David, in 1128, being then king, built a beautiful Abbey called Kelso, at the mouth of the River Tweed, Pope Innocent II. confirming the wishes of the Scottish monarch. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. John. Herbert Maunsell was the first Abbot of this new house, as appears upon the foundation charter."

After some brief historical and laudatory comments upon the monastery, the writer goes on: "As the head of this noble monastery, Herbert Maunsell continued until 1147, when he was translated to the See of Glasgow, being appointed at the same time Chancellor of Scotland. He was consecrated bishop on St. Bartholomew's Day in the same year, by Pope Eugenius III. Here he continued until his death, in 1164, having lived to an extreme old age."

It is perfectly true that there was a certain Herbert, who was, at the period mentioned, third Abbot of Selkirk, and first Abbot of Kelso, and was afterwards Bishop of Glasgow; he was also Chancellor of Scotland, but he held this office *before* he was made Bishop of Glasgow. He died in the year 1164.[1]

Not once, however, whether in the foundation charter or in any other document or allusion, is his surname given. In common with all high ecclesiastics and officials of the period, he is simply named as "Herbert, Abbot of Selkirk," "Herbert, Abbot of Kelso," "Herbert, Chancellor of Scotland." Surnames were then very rare in such documents; the man's office constituted his surname for all practical purposes.

There was, as Mr. Mansell remarks, a Herbert Maunsell who, two generations later, was Abbot of Kelso; he was elected

[1] See "Chronica de Mailros" (Bannatyne Club Ed.), pp. 66, 73, 79; "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," by Rev. Jas. Morton, fol. 1832, pp. 78, 80; "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Scotland," by George Crawfurd, fol. 1726, p. 4.

in 1221, resigned in 1236, but was constrained to resume his office in 1239, finally resigning soon after, and dying in the same year.[1]

That the first Herbert, Abbot of Selkirk and Kelso, and Bishop of Glasgow, etc., was named Maunsell, or was a son of Henry Maunsell, there does not appear to be a trace of evidence; Mr. Mansell says it so "appears from the foundation charter;" but it does not so appear—he is designated by his Christian name alone; and there the matter must be left.

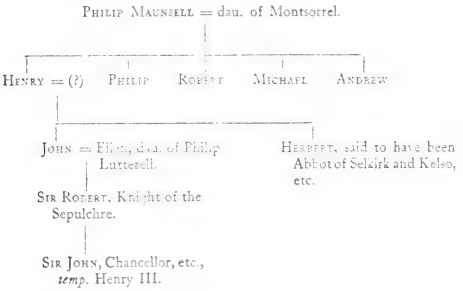
Returning to the eldest son of Henry Maunsell—

John Maunsell married Ellen (sometimes called Helen, or Elaine), daughter of Philip Lutterell, said to be Baron of Irnham, county Lincoln, and had issue:

Sir Robert Maunsell, Knight of the Sepulchre; who in turn was succeeded by his only son:

Sir John Maunsell, the great statesman of the time of Henry III.

Such is Mr. W. W. Mansell's genealogy so far; and here it is proposed to pause for the present, while his account is compared with that of other authorities up to this point.



Before proceeding with the further consideration of the early genealogy, it is as well to call attention to the very long scope of time covered by the three generations intervening between Philip and Sir John Maunsell. The date of Sir John's birth is not accurately

[1] "Chronica de Mailros," pp. 138, 147, 149, 150.

known, but his death took place in the year 1265—two hundred years after the Norman Conquest. It is customary to allow about three-and-thirty years to a generation. It is reasonable to suppose that Philip Maunsell's eldest son was born not later than ten years after the Conquest, probably earlier, as very youthful marriages were most frequent at that time; and allowing three generations from about the year 1076, Sir John would be over thirty in the year 1175. Some of the genealogy in the Harleian MSS. is far more reckless than this, having regard to the well-known period of Sir John Maunsell's life.

The scope of a generation is, of course, a test which must only be applied upon broad lines, and cannot be relied upon when the period in question is limited; but where it is a matter of nearly two hundred years it may fairly be resorted to, and a comparison of relative accuracy be at least partially based upon it.

Turning to the work, already alluded to in the first chapter, by Robert George Maunsell, published more than fifty years later than that of W. W. Maunsell, considerable discrepancies are at once apparent between these two family histories.

Mr. R. G. Maunsell, as we have seen, was not happy in his hypothesis as to the derivation of the name; it was based initially upon a false assumption, and was adopted in an over-confident spirit, without sufficient investigation; and although the genealogical part which follows is decidedly upon a higher level, and affords abundant testimony of painstaking research, extending, as the author informs us, over five years, it bears, nevertheless, the impress of a similar tendency to jump too readily at conclusions which are not justified by any tangible evidence, and are even, in some instances, directly contravened by the very reference which affects to prove them. Of references, indeed, this writer is chary in the extreme; he appears to consider them unnecessary, save on very broad lines, such as the mention in his preface of "Family MSS., British Museum MSS.," peerages, many familiar works of reference, and a list of some hundreds of persons to whom he is indebted for information; all of which, as means of verification, is of about as much value as though he had written: "Various authorities, *passim*." Some detailed

corroborations are given in the appendix, but almost invariably without precise mention of chapter and page. The genealogy consists, in fact, of a series of assertions, frequently plausible enough, but entirely unsupported by any kind of evidence, and yet indicative of copious research. The adoption of such a method, or lack of method, in a genealogical work which goes back to the eleventh century, is greatly to be deplored; it is contrary to the practice of conscientious genealogists and antiquarians of all times, and discounts largely the value of the work, which is also not infrequently marred by anachronisms, resulting from lack of adequate caution in dealing with isolated records.

Mr. Maunsell's genealogy is, nevertheless, entitled to considerable confidence in many respects; the references which he has deemed fit to withhold have, in many instances, and at considerable pains, been unearthed, and have as a rule proved effective, though the deductions which he draws from them are not always justifiable. There is a certain plausibility and probability about the work, which warrants its acceptance as a whole, with certain reservations to be noted in detail hereafter. The most serious drawback is the writer's occasional disregard, purposely or carelessly, of cardinal facts which are vouched for by official documents, and which directly challenge some of his statements, as will be demonstrated in due course.

R. G. Maunsell commences with the quotation from the French book in the library in Paris, and proceeds: "This Philip was cup-bearer to the Conqueror, and accompanied him to England. He was nephew of Sir Henry de Herlé, and settling in Bucks, married Demoiselle, daughter of Hugh de Montsorrel of Leicestershire, with whom he got large estates in that county. He had five sons, *viz.*, Henry, Philip, Robert, Michael, and Andrew."

Here are three assertions, which may be true, but concerning which there is but scanty evidence available.

First, that Philip Maunsell settled in Buckinghamshire. The only contemporary proof of this would be in Domesday; there is no allusion therein to any holdings, either by Philip Maunsell or Sir Henry Herlé, in Buckinghamshire.

Secondly, that Philip Maunsell received, with his wife, large

estates in Leicestershire; but Domesday is again silent as to any holdings by Hugh de Montsorrel or Philip Maunsell in this county.

Thirdly, that Philip Maunsell had five sons, Henry, Philip, Robert, Michael, and Andrew—a point concerning which there is, as has been seen, and as is, indeed, almost inevitable after so great a lapse of time, considerable divergence of testimony.

There appears, however, to be no reasonable doubt that Philip had a son Henry, and that he was the eldest, though the Harley MSS. already quoted must not be too cheaply ignored; they will be alluded to later, when summing up the genealogical evidence.

This Henry, Mr. Maunsell tells us quite confidently, "married Emma, sister of Sir Richard de Lucy, Chief Justice of the Realm, who, in 1178, founded the Abbey of Westwude, or Liesne (Erith Abbey), and was buried there the following year."

Sir Richard de Lucy was certainly Chief Justice of the Realm, and as certainly founded the Abbey of Westwood, or Lesne, in 1178, and died there, as a monk, in the following year;[1] as to the marriage of his sister with Henry Maunsell, some consideration is necessary before it can be accepted as fact.

It has already been assumed, and the assumption, it must be repeated, is a very reasonable one, that Henry Maunsell, eldest son of Philip, was born not later than about 1075; that is to say, more than one hundred years before the death of Sir Richard de Lucy. Assuming, again, that he married not later than 1100, when he would be five-and-twenty, the probabilities would appear to be very much against Sir Richard having a sister at that time of marriageable age; and it is most probable that Henry Maunsell's birth and marriage took place considerably earlier than has been assumed.

No chronicler or biographer has anything to tell us about Sir Richard de Lucy's descent: he comes upon the stage without

[1] "Annales Monastici," Vol. iv., p. 384. "Lives of the Chief Justices," by Lord Campbell, Vol. i., 55, 17, 18. Campbell states that Richard de Lucy was a powerful baron of a distinguished Norman family; he was made Chief Justice in 1154, and was in high favour with the king (Henry II.); he got into trouble, however, with the ecclesiastical authorities, and after having been twice formally excommunicated, he founded Erith Abbey, and, before it was well finished, retired there and died in the following year.

any definite ancestry; his family name does not appear in Viton de Saint Allais' catalogue of French and Norman notables; of brothers or sisters there is no trace, either in Dugdale's Baronage or Campbell's "Lives of the Chief Justices."

The question is not of any great importance; Henry Maunsell, no doubt, was married, if not to this Emma, then to some other lady; there would appear to be a generation of de Lucy missing, that is all.

That Henry Maunsell had a son John, or, at least, that a John Maunsell was eldest son in this generation, is admitted by almost all the authorities; also, that he married Elaine, or Ellen, de Lutterell—sometimes written Jouterell, or Joynterell—daughter of de Lutterell, said to be Baron of Irnham, county Lincoln.

Here, however, R. G. Maunsell parts company with W. W. Mansell, and, indeed, with all the heralds and scribes who have taken a hand in the matter: he gives John Maunsell a son named Raffe, or Ralph, and appears to make out a good case for him.

This Ralph married Cecily, or Cecilia, daughter of Gervaise Paganel, Baron of Dudley, who, in the year 1138, held Dudley Castle for the Empress Matilda. Gervaise was grandson to Fulk Paganel, who, through his marriage with the daughter and heir of William Fitzasculph, acquired large estates in Buckinghamshire, and founded the Priory of Tickford, near Newport, in that county.[1]

Ralph Maunsell made a charter by which, with the consent and goodwill of his wife Cecilia, and of Seher (or Sayer) his son and heir, he gave, for the souls of his parents, and of his sons Gilbert, Roger, Simon, William, and Hugh, and of all his ancestors, as a free gift to the Priory of Tickford, certain lands, including his farm or estate bearing the very peculiar name of Cuculmesho, the charter being confirmed by the seal of Gervaise Paganel, and witnessed by Isabella, Countess of Northampton, Richard de Lund, and Roger Paganel.[2]

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[1] Dugdale's Baronage (1675), pp. 431, 432. R. G. Maunsell is wrong in saying that Cecily was granddaughter to Fulk Paganel; she was his great-granddaughter, Ralph coming between Fulk and Gervaise.

[2] Monasticon Anglicanum. Vol. ii., p. 912 (25). Ed. 1661.

Ralph Maunsell had apparently lost five sons, and on the charter his son and heir is alluded to as Seher—"et Seheri filii mei et haeredis." R. G. Maunsell, however, ignores Seher, and says that he was succeeded by his son and heir Syr Robert, who was associated with Gilbert de Lacy, Preceptor of the Knights Templars in the East, in a successful surprise attack upon Noureddin, the Sultan, near Tripoli, in the year 1163. That one Robert Mansel, described as a "knight from Wales," was concerned in this exploit William, Archbishop of Tyre, bears witness;[1] that he was son to Ralph Maunsell does not appear to be made clear by any tangible evidence; and there is still Seher to be accounted for. R. G. Maunsell proceeds: "On his return from the war, he married (Joice), one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Wm. de Alneto, or Dawney, Lord of Turvey, by Joice, dau. of —— D'Engain. Her eldest sister married Eustace de Mordaunt, ancestor of the Earls of Peterborough; and the second married Richard de Andres."

This marriage is doubtful; in a genealogy of the Alneto family, by H. Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough (under the pseudonym of Robert Halstead), it is distinctly stated that Wm. de Alneto had only *two* daughters, who, on the death of their brother Hugh without issue, became co-heiresses of the estate. Alice, the elder, married Eustace de Mordaunt, and Sara, the younger, married Richard de Ardres (not *Andres*), each inheriting a moiety of the estate. The fact of there being only two sisters is emphasised by the circumstantial statement that "by reason of this division . . . the lordship continued after, for some years, under the laws and privileges of two distinct mannors, the one called Mordaunts-Mannor, the other Ardres-Mannor, until the fourteenth Edward III. (1341), at what time they were united by the care and industry of Robert Mordaunt," etc.[2]

Among his proofs of genealogy, the author transcribes a charter, by which Pagan (or Paine) de Alneto gives certain tenements,

[1] "Bella Sacri Historia." Pt. xix., ch. 8.

[2] "Succinct Genealogies of the Noble and Ancient Houses of Alneto, de Alneto, Mordaunt of Turvey," by Robert Halstead (*alias* H. Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough). [illegible]

etc., to his "beloved Richard Mansell"; while Ralph Mansell is one of the witnesses to another charter executed by Henry de Almeto, Pagan's son, and grandfather to that William whose daughter is alleged to have married Sir Robert Maunsell. This Richard Mansell of the first de Almeto charter does not fit in anywhere; he must have been of the same generation as the original Philip, who came over with the Conqueror; he will be dealt with later. Radulphus Mansell, witness to the other charter, is possibly Sir Robert's father, though the assumption again involves some stretching of a generation.

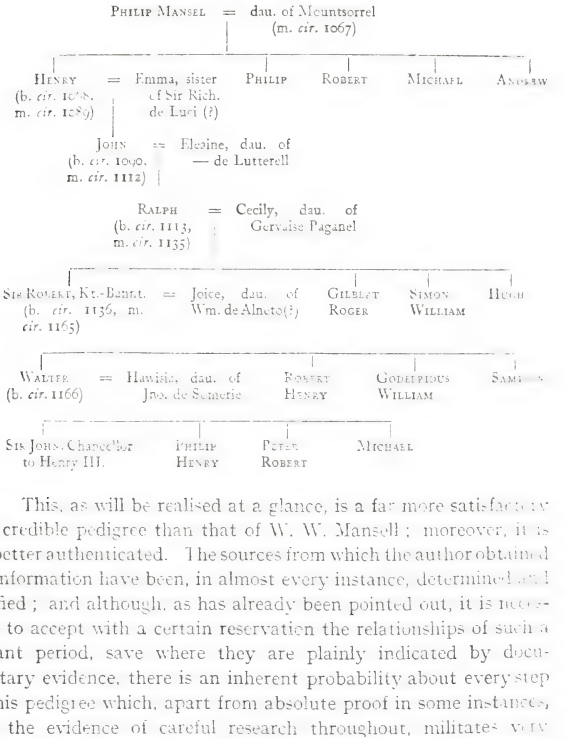
Whether or not this account of Sir Robert's marriage is correct, there appears to be no doubt that he was married, and left issue. R. G. Maunsell places Walter as his eldest son, with five others, *viz.*, Robert, Henry, Gedefridus, William, and Sampson.

Of the existence of Walter and these others at this period corroborative evidence has been found in official records; that they were the sons of Sir Robert there is no absolute proof, save, in some instances, in the successive tenure of certain lands. It is rare, in these records, to find "son of So-and-So"; usually the bare Christian and surnames are given, and the actual relationship must be determined, or perhaps conjectured, by various indications. R. G. Maunsell is perhaps justified in placing these six above-named as Sir Robert's sons—save in one instance, to be noted later.

Accepting this, therefore, as fact, Walter Maunsell is said to have married Hawisia, daughter of John de Somerie, and granddaughter of Gervaise Paganel; by this marriage it is said that he had six sons, *viz.*, John, Philip, Henry, Peter, Robert, and Michael; also two daughters.

There are certain evidences concerning the existence of these persons, and there is no reason why they may not have been Walter's sons, unless, indeed, it be with regard to John, the eldest, concerning whose parentage there is considerable divergence of opinion. He was to become the famous Sir John of the reign of Henry III., and the objections which have been raised on various hands as to his antecedents will be fully dealt with later on. For the moment he may be accepted as the eldest son of Walter Maunsell; and this brings the

early genealogy down to the same period as has been reached in considering the account by W. W. Mansell.



This, as will be realised at a glance, is a far more satisfactory and credible pedigree than that of W. W. Mansell; moreover, it is far better authenticated. The sources from which the author obtained his information have been, in almost every instance, determined and verified; and although, as has already been pointed out, it is necessary to accept with a certain reservation the relationships of such a distant period, save where they are plainly indicated by documentary evidence, there is an inherent probability about every step in this pedigree which, apart from absolute proof in some instances, and the evidence of careful research throughout, militates very strongly in its favour. It is also quite sound upon one point concerning which, as has already been hinted, some other suggested genealogies are exceedingly unsound; that is to say, in the matter of

the number of generations which may reasonably be reckoned as adequately covering a certain period.

The genealogists all agree in placing Philip, of the time of the Conquest, at the head of the family; most of them also include Sir John, the great Chancellor of Henry III., in the direct line from Philip; but some of them are so eager to record his advent that they entirely ignore the inexorable conditions of chronology.

Sir John Maunsell's official career, from about the year 1234 onwards, is as authentically recorded as the date of the Conquest, his death occurring just two hundred years later; and yet Mr. W. W. Mansell allows four generations only between Philip and Sir John. The Visitations and other MSS. to which he refers are in some instances more flagrantly futile: one, No. 1975, Harley, gives only *two* generations; only one gives, very roughly, with probably erroneous names, six generations, more by good luck, one cannot help thinking, than precise knowledge or care for exactitude. These MSS. must therefore be put aside as unreliable in most respects. Who would place any confidence in the record of a visiting herald so slipshod in his methods, or perhaps so desirous of pleasing a county family, as to ignore a flagrant lapse, such as the stretching of two generations to cover nearly two hundred years?

R. G. Maunsell gives six generations, which is reasonable and probable, and makes good his links, in several instances, by direct testimony; and this very fact serves to render more difficult of acceptance his statement, already commented upon, that Henry Maunsell, Philip's eldest son, married the sister of Sir Richard de Lucy; for, having accepted, quite reasonably, after due consideration, the author's early genealogy, the conclusion is inevitable that the allowance made, on a former page, of twenty-five years from step to step is decidedly too liberal. Sir Robert Maunsell, the Crusader, it will be recollected, took part in the action against Noureddin in the year 1163; and a very simple reckoning will demonstrate that, had Philip Maunsell's immediate successors been presented each with a son and heir at the age of five-and-twenty, Sir Robert would have been born about 1150, and so would have been only thirteen years of age at the time of the exploit in Tripoli. The acceptance of this

pedigree, therefore, involves the assumption that these young men all married at one or two-and-twenty, as, indeed, it is most probable that they did, and furthermore, it renders all the more futile and impracticable the genealogies above alluded to.

On the other hand, it is manifest that R. G. Maunsell's pedigree can only be accepted with some reservations, to be summarised later on.

There is one pedigree, of which a reproduction is here presented, which must be dealt with at some length. It was included in the huge collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, the famous antiquarian, and is now in the Public Library in Cardiff. It is described as being "neatly written upon vellum," and was executed, about the middle of last century, by one Gabriel Ogilvy, whose signature, under the words "copyright reserved," appears upon the margin—an incongruity in itself, as will presently be noticed.

This document is written entirely in French, and is framed in a fashion which was certainly obsolete, and abandoned by all genealogists, a very long while before it was composed; in other words, it has a *quasi*-antique aspect, which has, no doubt, tended to invest it with a more or less fictitious value in the eyes of some members of the Maunsell family. Mr. R. G. Maunsell, who reproduces it at p. 82 of his book, alludes to it as an "ancient pedigree," and similar reference has been made to it in other quarters as Gabriel Ogilvy's old French pedigree, and so forth.

It is not, of course, "old" or "ancient" in any sense, save in respect of the persons and times with which it is concerned; nor does the fact that it is written on vellum, and in imitation of the character of old documents, render it either more or less reliable as a genealogical record.

Gabriel Ogilvy has no fame as a genealogist; his name does not appear in English or French biographies. It will be found, however, in the British Museum Catalogue, under the form of *O'Gilvy, Henri Gabriel*. He was the author of "Les Conquérants de l'Angleterre, ou Lignages d'Outremer de 1066 à 1204." This was intended to appear in monthly parts, and a prospectus was sent round to all English families who claimed to date from the Norman

Conquest. Nearly one hundred of these undertook to subscribe for the monthly parts, among whom appear Henry Maunsell, Esq., Limerick; John C. Mansel, Esq., Dorset; George W. Maunsell, Esq., Dublin.

The scope of this very ambitious work was no less than the enumeration, with their descent and armorial shields, of every man of the sixty thousand who accompanied William of Normandy on the expedition against England. The first part was printed in the year 1868, with a lengthy preface in French, and the author, who was then residing at 57, Museum Street, and whose name appears on the title-page as the publisher, apparently made a formal gift of one copy to the British Museum, signing his name, "Gabriel Ogilvy," on the paper cover, which signature is undoubtedly identical with that on the margin of the pedigree, and so establishes the identity of Henri Gabriel O'Gilvy with the writer of this document; he never, apparently, signed Henri, but he exercised a capricious discretion as to the use of the apostrophe, sometimes signing himself "O'Gilvy," without any initial, in French fashion; indeed, he alludes to the French language as his native tongue, in the preface above referred to.

Such an undertaking as "Les Conquérants de l'Angleterre" was preordained to failure; it never got beyond the first monthly part; and the very fact of his conceiving and advertising a work of so obviously impracticable a character rather tends to stamp Ogilvy as a "crank."

He wrote also, in collaboration with M. J. de Bourrousse de Laforre, "Nobiliaire de Guienne et de Cascon," published at Bordeaux, probably in parts, as it dates from 1856 to 1883; and "Nobiliaire de Normandie," which never got beyond the first volume; and at some period in between his labours over these achievements he compiled this so-called ancient Mansel pedigree, in antique form, with "copyright reserved" and his signature, in modern English caligraphy, on the margin; and perhaps the anachronism has a certain use, in that it exonerates the author of deliberate attempt at deception.

The document is not, in truth, a pedigree in any real sense; it had been more justly labelled "Genealogical notes concerning the

Mansel family." It may, however, contain some information of more or less value.

The four shields on the left-hand margin have already been dealt with in the chapter on the Maunsell coat-of-arms.

The first column is headed by one Geoffroy Mansel, a Norman, whose name, as Gabriel Ogilvy correctly states, appears among a number of others in a "Catalogue des Seigneurs Renommez en Normandie, depuis Guillaume le Conquerant jusques en l'an mille douze," which is added as a kind of appendix, with fresh pagination, to Du Moulin's "Histoire de Normandie." There is, however, a certain amount of assumption involved in this precise statement, for the name which is recorded by Du Moulin among the persons of renown in Normandy, during the period of one hundred and forty years, from the Norman Conquest to that of Normandy in 1204, is Geoffroy *Maucelle*.[1] In view, however, of the orthographic idiosyncrasies of these early times, which have already been discussed, the surname is quite as likely to have been spelled one way as the other, and Maucelle may, without undue license, be accepted as identical with Mansel—for thus does Ogilvy spell it throughout his pedigree, save in one or two instances in which he adopts the form *Mancel*, not uncommon in France.

He starts with a round assertion, which he does not attempt to prove: "Geoffroy Mancel, Normand, que du Moulin cite parmi les hommes illustres de Normandie, prit part a la Conquête de l'Angleterre."

This may be perfectly true; but the impression conveyed by Du Moulin's list is that these "seigneurs renommez" were dwelling in Normandy, not founding families in England. It is not apparent, in fact, why he should include those who remained in England after the Battle of Hastings, became possessed of lands, married and established themselves upon English soil; the history of Normandy would no longer legitimately contain them.

Gabriel Ogilvy may, however, be excused in the matter of

[1] "Histoire Generale de Normandie," par M. Gabriel Du Moulin; p. 49 (of the pagination at the end).

proof, seeing how extremely difficult it is to obtain direct evidence on this point. Let it be conceded that Geoffrey Mancel, or Maucelle, was among the followers of William, Duke of Normandy; possibly he may have returned to Normandy after marrying in England.

Admitting this Geoffrey—though it is permitting Gabriel Ogilvy some latitude—he is credited with two sons, Gilbert or Geoffrey, and Vautier (Walter) or Gauthier. There is a Walter Maunsell mentioned in Gervaise Paganel's charter of 1187, as a benefactor of Tickford Priory; also John, his son. Ogilvy says that Walter gave lands to Tickford in 1196, and assigns him a son named Raoul, or Ralph, who is obviously identical with Rafie, the son of John, in R. G. Maunsell's book, with, however, one generation less from the period of the Conquest. This Raoul, according to Ogilvy, marries Cecily, and has six sons, viz., Sayer, Gilbert, Roger, Simon, William, and Hugh.

Raoul's son and heir, Sayer, marries the sister of Hugh d'Auny (de Alneto), whom R. G. Maunsell assigns to Syr Robert the Crusader. Probably both are in error, for it is almost certain that Hugh de Alneto had only two sisters, whose marriages are recorded elsewhere.[1] Sayer, however, appears as Ralph's son and heir, in accordance with the charter of Ralph already alluded to.

Ogilvy credits Sayer Mansel with three sons, Samson, Roger, and William; the last named he states was Lord of Erdington in Warwickshire, and father of Emma, Lady of Erdington, who married, first, Henry de Harcourt, and secondly Richard de Pipe. He also says that Sayer Mansel gave to the monks of Newport his farm of Cuculmecho; this, however, as has already been shown, was presented by Ralph Maunsell, with the consent of Seher, his son and heir, the gift being confirmed by Gervaise Paganel.

Gabriel Ogilvy gives as his authority for Gautier or Walter Mansel's sons, La Roque's "Histoire de Harcourt"; but there is nothing fresh there, except an allusion to a charter of Gilbert Mansel,

[1] See *ante*, p. 55.

confirming that of Geoffrey;[1] which charter appears in connection with Tickford Priory, in Monasticon Anglicanum.

After Sayer Mansel, the column becomes a double one: on the left there appears Sampson, son of Sayer; his eldest son, John; and another Sampson whose relationship is not stated. On the right, William Mansel, who may or may not be the Lord of Erdington above mentioned; his son (apparently) John Mansel; and William, relationship not indicated; he may be brother to John.

The whole of this column is somewhat vitiated by the questionable assumption that Geoffrey took part in the Conquest of England. Du Moulin merely includes his name among a number of renowned Normans living during a period of one hundred and forty years, from the Conquest of England to that of Normandy in 1204.

The second column commences with Richard Mansel: "Mansellus, Cenomannicus," who is said to have given lands to the Priory of Brecknock in the year 1088; reference being given to Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. iii., p. 259b (second edition).

Here, again, Gabriel Ogilvy is at fault with regard to his authority; neither in the Latin of the earlier edition, nor in the English of the later, of Dugdale's Monasticon, is the name of Mansel mentioned with regard to this gift of land. The statement occurs, among a long list of beneficiaries: "Ricardus Cenomannicus unam carucatam terrae";[2] in the index this benefactor appears as "Cenomannicus, Richardus." The English version runs: "Richard, called Cenomannicus, gave a carucate."[3] Upon what authority Gabriel Ogilvy inserts the name "Mansellus" it is impossible to say. The name "Cenomannicus" appears to be of monastic origin; it is not to be found in any ancient or modern dictionary, and savours rather of some monastic office. Whoever this Richard may have been, Ogilvy was apparently so resolved to introduce him into this document, that he went so far as to "cook" his authority.

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[1] "Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Harcourt." Vol. iv., p. 2293.

[2] Monasticon Anglicanum. Vol. i., p. 322b. Ed. 1661.

[3] *Ibid.* (second edition). Vol. iii., p. 259b.

There is, it will be recollected, a Richard Maunsell, who would be living probably in the year 1088, alluded to in a charter of Pagan de Alneto,[1] but this charter throws no light upon Richard Cenomannicus; de Alneto and these other Maunsells alluded to therein were of Bedford and Buckinghamshire.

Following Richard, but without any indication of relationship, comes Guerin Mansel, who is said to have had three sons, William, Guerin, and Richard. William is stated to have held two parts of a knight's fee of Henry of Newmarket in Gloucestershire, in 1165, and this is confirmed by the Liber Niger Scaccarii,[2] in so far that one William Mansel is therein mentioned as holding this fee. The fact does not, of course, constitute a confirmation of his descent as indicated by Ogilvy.

In the same paragraph, and without indication of relationship, it is stated that Robert Mansel held one knight's fee from the Archbishop of York, which is also confirmed by authentic evidence.[3] This Robert and his brother Richard are said to have been benefactors to the monastery of Couches, in Normandy, as was also their grandfather, Guerin I., on the authority of "Gallia Christiana," by Sainte Marthe.

This may be all very true, but it is not genealogy within any accepted meaning of the term; it is more in the nature of a statement of certain facts or allegations, which are all more or less discounted by the unwarranted assumption that "Richard Cenomannicus," who heads the column, was Richard "Mansellus."

There follows a neatly "tricked" fleur-de-lis, separating the above from the bald statement, apropos of nothing in particular: "Sir John Maunsell, knight, Lord Chief Justice of England under Henry III. (Betham's Baronetage, vol. i., p. 250); his derivation is uncertain."

Another fleur-de-lis embellishes the empty space below; there are three of these on the document, which have the effect

[1] See *ante*, p. 54.

[2] Liber Niger Scaccarii (Herne). Editio Altera. Vol. i., p. 169.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. i., p. 304.

of enhancing the sham antique character of the whole composition.

The third column commences: "Philip Le Mancel, knight, nephew of Sir Henry de Harlay, who gave him the manor of Anwick (Oxwich) in Glamorganshire, took part in the Conquest of England in 1066. He married N —— de Montsorel, and had five sons: Henry, Robert, Michael, Andrew, and Philip."

Only Philip and Henry are further noticed. This column is also divided, and on the left it runs: "Philip Mansel, named Arbalestrius, married Mabel d'Erleigh, Lady of the Manor of Mansel in North Petherton. (Collinson, Hist. of Somerset, vol. iii., p. 72.)"

Here Gabriel Ogilvy once more adapts his authority to suit his purpose. The reference to Collinson's History of Somerset is quite correct as to chapter and page; but it is not there stated that this Philip's name was Mansel. The passage runs as follows: "Mansel, now the seat of John Slade, Esq., newly built, was the hereditary possession of a family of the same name for twenty generations. In the time of Henry II. William de Erleigh granted it to Philip Arbalistarius in free marriage with Mabil his daughter, to be held by the payment of two young pigs every Whitsuntide at his court of Durston; which grant Ancilia, widow of the said William de Erleigh, confirmed to Philip de Maunsel, son of the above-mentioned Philip, who married a daughter of Sir Hugh de Auberville, and was the first of this family that assumed the name of Maunsel, or Mansel."

It is perfectly clear that this Philip who married Mabel de Erleigh was not named Mansel; Collinson expressly states that his name was Philip Arbalistarius (the cross-bower)—bestowed, no doubt, by reason of his own, or possibly his father's, prowess with that weapon—and as distinctly asserts that it was this Philip's son and namesake who was the first of his family to assume the name of Mansel; he took it, apparently, from the de Erleighs' estate.

Collinson may be right, or he may be in error; but to quote this passage as though this Philip were obviously the son of the Philip Mansel above, bearing his surname, is simply to trample upon every tradition of the sincere historian or genealogist; and Gabriel Ogilvy, as has been seen, is repeatedly guilty of this indiscretion.

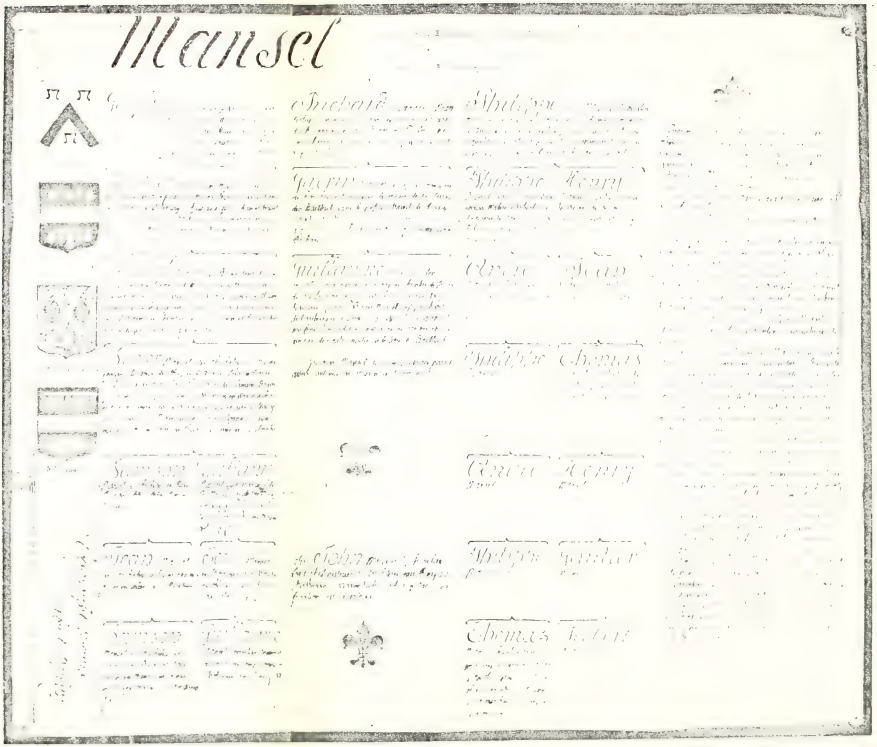
From this Philip, Ogilvy derives five further generations, *viz.*, Andrew, Philip, Andrew, Philip, Thomas—the last-named being knight-banneret, who fell at Northampton in the year 1264, and concerning whom, in relation to this present pedigree, there will be something to say later on.

From Henry, in the right-hand column, are also derived five generations, *viz.*, John, Thomas, Henry, Walter, Robert. Ogilvy gives a reference, under Henry, to De la Roque's "Histoire de la Maison de Harcourt," vol. ii., p. 1960, and apparently derives the immediate descendants in both half-columns from this work: but he omits, *more suo*, to note the fact that De la Roque places Philip II. as the eldest, and Henry as the third son of Philip I.

This early genealogy differs entirely from that of R. G. Maunsell, and in fact from all the authorities or *quasi*-authorities which have been considered; the references which are given to old documents serve to prove in each instance the existence of a person bearing a certain name, at a given period, but nothing further. The reader is left to infer that these successive names are in direct succession of father and son; but he is at perfect liberty, in the absence of any sort of proof, to assume otherwise.

The fourth column contains some details concerning French and Norman Mansels. Guerin Mansel the second, grandson of the apocryphal Richard Maunsell Cenomannicus, of the second column, is said to have died in Normandy; the others may be considered with the French branches later on.

Such is the pedigree, if it can so be styled, of Gabriel Ogilvy. It is a curious medley of truth and error, and the apparently wilful adaptations—to put it mildly—which have been noted seem to favour the conjecture that it was composed, either spontaneously or by request, with the view of pleasing some member or branch of the Maunsell family. The author picks up or evolves a Maunsell here and there, and makes a short genealogy from him; then, without rhyme or reason, he throws in Sir John Maunsell in an isolated position, to tell us that his origin is uncertain; and the whole document is vitiated, in spite of certain valid references, by the existence, in two columns, of the misquotation or adaptation of some authority.



GABRIEL OGILVY'S OLD FRENCH PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF MANSEL AND MAUNSELL.

IN THE CARDIFF PUBLIC LIBRARY. REFERENCE.

Sir Thomas Phillipps acquired this document somewhere about the 'sixties of last century. He was married, as will be seen hereafter, to a Mansell, and was immensely interested in the family pedigree; he was also an expert antiquary and a great collector, and would certainly, one would imagine, very speedily have detected the lack of sincerity and coherence in Gabriel Ogilvy's work.

Sir Thomas, in the preface to a catalogue of his MSS., tells us that he was extremely keen about acquiring documents on vellum, and his reasons for this; and, coining a nickname to describe his action, he dubs himself a "vello-maniac."

Perhaps the fact that Gabriel Ogilvy's pedigree is written on vellum may have influenced Sir Thomas; possibly Ogilvy selected that medium with the double object of securing an antique appearance and pleasing Sir Thomas Phillipps.

However this may be, it is the work of a slipshod and over-anxious archæologist, addicted to starting upon ambitious literary schemes predestined to failure; to adapting his authorities to his theories on occasion; and consequently not to be too readily accepted.[1]

There are other Maunsell, or Mansell, pedigrees in existence, but they are all extremely doubtful concerning this early stage which is now under consideration, ranging from the Conquest until half-way through the reign of Henry III.

Two genealogies of the Dorset branch of the family are widely at variance in the first five generations from the Conquest, and also differ entirely from W. W. Maunsell and R. G. Maunsell. One of them, in manuscript, purporting to be that of the Mansels of Kimmeridge, Dorset, agrees pretty nearly with one of the Harley MSS. already alluded to, but brings in Walter Maunsell, who held lands in Little Missenden by sergeanty of the king, too late in descent to agree with the State record.

The other, a printed pedigree, omits Sir John, *temp.* Henry III., entirely, and, from the point of view of some genealogists, at least unfortunately. It also leaves out Walter, who was certainly to the fore at the end of the twelfth century and half-way through the thirteenth;

[1] See Introduction to the Text of Gabriel Ogilvy's Pedigree, Appendix I.

and Robert, whose name is also to be found in contemporary State records. A printed note on the back of the pedigree acknowledges that the earlier portion is not authenticated.

There can be no question but that Mr. R. G. Maunsell's genealogy is more feasible and better authenticated than any other; there are, however, one or two weak links, which shall now be more fully considered. The most apparent and flagrant discrepancy is in the case of Raffe or Ralph Maunsell's eldest son and heir.

Mr. Maunsell quotes the charter of Ralph Maunsell, wherein he grants certain lands to Tickford Priory, "with consent of his wife, and of his son and heir, for the souls of his father and mother, and of his sons, Gilbert, Roger, Simon, William, and Hugh"; but it appears to have altogether escaped the writer that Ralph *names* his son and heir—"et *Seheri* filii mei et haeredis." Thus, according to this charter, which is unimpeachable evidence, Ralph Maunsell's son and heir was named Seher, or Sayer; yet Mr. Maunsell, in passing on to the next genealogical step, says: "His eldest and only surviving son and heir, *viz.*, Syr Robert."

If he had written "eldest surviving son," it would have left the question open: but the expression "eldest and only surviving son" places him at loggerheads with his own witness, the charter. If Robert had been the eldest son, Seher could not have been alluded to as the heir; and a charter of this nature cannot be got over.

The alternative ways out of the difficulty would appear to be either the assumption that Robert and Seher are one and the same individual, or that Seher died *vita patris*, leaving a second son, Robert, hitherto unmentioned, as the heir; in the latter case R. G. Maunsell's words, "eldest and only surviving son," could only be ignored as a slip of the pen.

The undoubted existence of Sir Robert Mansell, and his exploit in the company of Gilbert de Lacy, lend colour to Mr. Maunsell's genealogy, but it by no means amounts to actual proof, especially in face of the uncompromising statement in Ralph Maunsell's charter.

The possible identity of Robert and Sayer is rendered more feasible by the presence, in Gabriel Ogilvy's pedigree, of Sayer

Mansel, descended, presumably, from the doubtful Geoffrey of the first column, who is represented as marrying the same lady as R. G. Maunsell assigns to Syr Robert; but if Geoffrey actually came over as Oudy alleges, with the Conqueror, this Sayer is a generation in advance of Syr Robert.

Then, again, there is the question of Walter, eldest son of Syr Robert Maunsell, concerning whom and his son, John, some apparent anachronisms occur. Mr. Maunsell states that "for the health of the soul of his cousin, and wife's uncle, Robert Pagnell, last of the two sons of Gervaise Pagnell, he bestowed some of the lands of Ingpenne on the Priory of Tickford, which gift his son, John, subsequently confirmed in his court at Soulbury, his brothers Philip, Henry, Peter, and Robert being witnesses to the deed."

This circumstantial statement appears in Lipscomb's "History of Buckinghamshire," and in the collections of the William Salt Archæological Society; but in no instance is there a precise reference supplied to the original document. Mr. R. G. Maunsell, as usual, eschews references; Lipscomb, in this instance, is equally silent; and the William Salt Archæological Society, after a very brief statement, inserts "Monasticon" in brackets.[1]

Now, the verification of the execution of this deed by John Maunsell, with his four brothers as witnesses, is of great importance in this present attempt to compile a reliable genealogy of the Maunsell family; the date, or at least the year at which it was executed, is of paramount interest, for the following reasons.

According to R. G. Maunsell, it was Walter, son of Sir Robert the Crusader, who gave lands to Tickford Priory for the soul of Robert Pagnel, his son John confirming the gift. The charter of Gervaise Pagnel, in which the gift is mentioned, attributes it to John, son of Walter, as though the idea originated with him; and there is no deed to be found quoted in Monasticon which fulfils the conditions set forth by R. G. Maunsell and Lipscomb.

The crucial point lies in the fact that this Walter and his son

[1] *Dugdale Mon. Angl.* Vol. iii., p. 911. Ed. 1661. "History of Buckinghamshire," by Lipscomb. Vol. iv., p. 292. "Collections for a History of Staffordshire," Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Vol. i., p. 204.

John, who are mentioned in the charter of Gervaise Paganel in this connection, are clearly assumed by R. G. Maunsell to be identical with his Walter, son of Robert the Crusader, and John his son; but he does not perceive that this involves an anachronism.

Sir Robert, he says, returned from the Holy Land some time—he does not state how long—after the year 1163; he then married, at some period which is as vague as the time of his return, and had a son, Walter, who had a son, John. But this Walter and John could not possibly be identical with those referred to in the Charter of Gervaise Paganel, which is executed in 33 Henry II., 1187; charters were most frequently left undated in those days, but Gervaise Paganel was evidently a business-like person, and so has left this clear.

Assuming a very prompt return on the part of Sir Robert after his exploit at Tripoli, and making due allowance for the somewhat uncertain length of the journey in those days, he could not well have been married before 1165. Walter might have been born in the following year, and so, at the period of the execution of Gervaise Paganel's charter, he would be one-and-twenty. The gift alluded to therein is a thing of the past, and Walter, as a minor, could not have bestowed it; *a fortiori*, he could not, if he be permitted the dignity of fatherhood at all, have had a son John other than a very small infant in arms.

The alleged deed may, however, have been executed in later years by this or some other John; events are apt to become crowded up in the long perspective of years; and thus it is of the utmost importance that the year in which this deed was executed should be established.

[Since going to Press, a reference to this charter by John Maunsell has been discovered: it appears in Harley MS. No. 2188, fol. 125. This is a series of extracts, "ex registro evidentiarum monasterii de Newport Painell (Paganel) in comitatu Buck: fol. 2." It is here stated that John Maunsell confirms to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Walter Maunsell his father for the soul of Robert Paganel, son of Gervase Paganel, in his court at Soulbury. Witnesses—"Petrus, frater meus; Henricus, Philippus, Robertus, fratres mei." R. G. Maunsell and Lipscomb are thus supported in

their statement. Unfortunately, the charter does not appear to bear any date, and is therefore of no assistance towards clearing up the apparent anachronism.

There is mention, in Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, new edition, vol. v., pp. 82, 83, of a certain John Maunsell as a benefactor of Dudley Priory, Worcestershire (formerly reckoned in Staffordshire, being just on the border), founded by Gervaise Paganel before 1161. The name occurs in a confirmation, by Pope Lucius III., of the charter and benefactions to the Priory. It is a lengthy document in Latin, purporting to be written by the Pope, in the first person, and is dated "Dominici Anno millesimo centesimo nonagesimo," which unquestionably signifies the year 1190. Now Pope Lucius III., according to every authority, died in the year 1185; there was no subsequent Lucius.

This is a very curious anomaly, for which it is extremely difficult to account. Had it been worded otherwise, as the record, by some other person, of the Pope's ratification of the charter, the anachronism might have been attributed to a somewhat egregious blunder on the part of the scribe; but the dating of such a document, in the Pope's own person, five or more years subsequently, and long after his death, admits of no such explanation.

It is remarkable that neither Dugdale nor any subsequent authority should have detected the anachronism, which is probably unique among records of this nature.

However, it remains unexplained and inexplicable; nor is there any clue as to the identity of the John Maunsell named therein; he may very possibly be identical with the John mentioned in Gervaise Paganel's charter, as he is a contemporary.]

Even so, this Walter, son of Sir Robert, remains doubtful. It is true, certainly, that one Walter Maunsell held Little Missenden, in Buckinghamshire, by sergeanty of being Napkin Bearer to the king; this and other holdings attributed to him by R. G. Maunsell are confirmed in Testa de Nevill and elsewhere; but it is difficult to believe that he was the Walter mentioned in Gervaise Paganel's charter of 1187: and if not, who was he?

Gabriel Ogilvy supplies a Walter, son of that Geoffrey who

figures in the first column of his pedigree; but, putting aside the somewhat doubtful account of Geoffrey, this Walter comes three generations too early to fit in. No other Walter is to the fore, and R. G. Maunsell's Walter must therefore be accepted, with some reservation. The extreme difficulty of arriving at genealogical facts in these early times is hereby very vividly illustrated. Heralds' Visitations are mostly unreliable; the effusions of independent and irresponsible genealogists abound, as has been seen, with unwarrantable assumptions and glaring anachronisms, interspersed with detached fragments of authenticated fact, the intrinsic value of which is entirely destroyed by the failure of the writer to make any good use of them.

There is in the Manuscript Room at the British Museum (Addit. MSS., Egerton, No. 2436) a document entitled "The History of the Noble Family of the Mansels," by W. J. Cl . . . (for so the writer half discloses his identity). It is beautifully written, and commences with a long, pompous, and very tedious dissertation upon the difficulty of ascertaining the origin of surnames; then proceeds to take a flying leap over all the obstacles so fully set forth, and ascribes the origin of the name of Mansel to the "mantle" on the shield! This writer states that Hugh de Montsorrell had the lordship of that name from the Conqueror, "as a recompense for his singular valour and good services in the conquest of England." Here he hits upon, at least, a probability, which no other writer appears to have noticed. Leland, in his Battle Abbey Roll, includes a Mountsorel, who may quite well have been that same holder of estates in Leicestershire, whose daughter was married to Philip Maunsell.

After due consideration, it must be conceded that the derivation and early genealogy of the family, as set forth by Robert George Maunsell, is the most convincing. The sources of his information have been investigated at some pains, and the result has afforded abundant testimony to his diligent research and sincerity of purpose. It has not been possible in every instance to verify his statements, and there must remain a certain amount of doubtfulness as to the identity and parentage of individuals whose actual existence is sufficiently established by reliable records.

Also, there are certain reservations, as has already been pointed out, which must be made with regard to Ralph Maunsell's son and heir, and other matters of less importance; but on the whole this pedigree must be adopted in this present account of the family; certainly there is no other which can claim equal authenticity, or which displays any approach to the careful investigation which is apparent in the work of R. G. Maunsell. A very perfunctory survey places almost every other pedigree out of court, and in some instances the disability touches the point of absurdity.

Burke's Peerage and Baronetage agrees with the derivation and early genealogy in the work by R. G. Maunsell—the outcome, of course, of independent research—a fact which was not realised until this verdict had already been pronounced in favour of R. G. Maunsell; so the support and corroboration thus afforded is satisfactory.

Genealogical Summary

Philip Maunsell, or Mansel (probably the name was not spelled *Maunsell* until after he had taken up his abode in England; perhaps after the Battle Abbey Rolls were compiled). He came over with William of Normandy (to whom he was, perhaps, cup bearer. He was probably identical with Philip Mansel, either nephew or grandson of Adinolfe, Great Chamberlain to William, Duke of Normandy), he was also, according to some authorities, nephew to Sir Henry Harley. He acquired some estates, either from Sir Henry Harley or elsewhere, probably in Bucks, possibly in Pyderton, or Petherton, in Somerset, and also, on his marriage with a daughter of Hugh de Montsorrel, or Mountsorrel (who possibly also came over with the Conqueror), in Leicestershire. He had, according to most authorities, five sons, *viz.*, Henry, Philip, Robert, Michael, and Andrew; this is by no means certain, however, as in some instances only three sons are mentioned, or other names substituted. ("Armoires de Genealogie de la Famille de Mance."; MS. preserved in Paris, quoted by W. W. Mansell; all the pedigrees recorded in MSS. in the British Museum, etc.; with some discrepancies as to Philip's sons, and the county in which he first settled.)

Henry, probably the eldest son, married, but it is not certain

to whom he was married; possibly to Emma, sister of Sir Richard de Lucy, as stated by R. G. Maunsell.

[Henry is not positively placed as Philip's eldest son, save by W. W. Mansell, R. G. Maunsell, and Burke, in the Peerage and Baronetage; other pedigrees differ widely on this point.]

JOHN, eldest son to Henry, married Elaine, or Ellen, daughter to —— de Lutterell, styled, by several writers, Baron of Irnham, in the county of Lincoln.

[According to nearly every authority, including Heralds Visitations and other MSS., there was an eldest son John of this generation, who married as above. In the "History of the County of Lincoln," by Thomas Allen, vol. ii., p. 297, it is stated that "The manor of Irnham was one of the fifteen manors in the county of Lincoln bestowed by William the Conqueror on Ralph Paganel, or Paynell, in whose male descendants it continued until the year 1220, when it passed to Sir Andrew Lutterell . . . whose grandson, Sir Robert Luttrell, was summoned to Parliament as Baron of Irnham in 1298." This statement is verified, concerning the manors held by Ralph Paganel, in Domesday; so that if, as appears to be tolerably well established, John Maunsell married a daughter of de Lutterell, the latter was not, after all, Baron of Irnham.]

RAFFE, or RALPH, eldest son of John, or possibly only son, as no other is mentioned. He married Cecily, daughter of Gervaise Paganel, and had either six or seven sons.

[Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. ii., pp. 911, 912, edit. 1661. There does not appear to be any direct evidence that Ralph was the son of John; it is very probable, however, that he was.]

ROBERT, or SEHER, son and heir to Ralph. There is some uncertainty as to the name; Robert and Seher may be identical (Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. ii., p. 912). He is said to have married Joice, youngest daughter of William de Alneto; this is doubtful. He is also said to have held—under the name of Robert—the manor of Sedgwick, county Sussex, in capite of the king. Ralph Maunsell's other sons, five in number, all died during his lifetime (Monasticon Anglicanum, as above).

[With regard to Robert Maunsell's tenure of the manor of

Sedgwick, as stated by R. G. Maunsell, it has not been found possible to verify the fact. No mention is made of it in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II., or in the list of holders of land in capite of the same period, among the MSS. in the British Museum. In a chapter, "On Sedgwick Castle," by the Rev. Edward Turner, vol. viii., p. 31, Sussex Archæological Society's Collections, it is stated that the manor and castle of Sedgwick were in the possession of a family named Salvage, or Savage, for rather more than two and a half centuries from the time of the Conquest. Sedgwick is not, however, mentioned in Domesday; but it was included in the same parish or hundred as Broadwater (Bradwatre), which was certainly held by one *Robert* from William de Braose, at the time of the Domesday Visitation. Whether or not it is justifiable to identify this Robert with Salvage, or Savage, or Sauvage, appears doubtful; the writer in the Sussex Archæological Collection assumes, without giving a precise reason, that he is justified in so doing. It is quite certain, however, that this Robert cannot be Sir Robert the Crusader, who lived a century later. In Testa de Nevill, pp. 222, 223, Robert le Sauvage is said to hold the manor of Sedgwick at four knights' fees from Richard de Braose (26 Henry III., 1242), and later, at the same fees, of the Earl of Cornwall, which gives colour to the above assumption.

Mr. W. W. Mansell also states (p. 22) that Sir Robert held the Manor of Sedgwy (Sedgwick) in capite of the king, and that his son John was possessed of it in 52 Henry III., 1268. He gives as references in support of these two statements, Plea Roll 14, Testa de Nevill. It is a relief, at first sight, to find any reference supplied, when most writers appear to have conspired to withhold them; but Mr. Mansell is, as usual, disappointing when it comes to the pinch. Plea Roll No. 14 occupies, as it happens, its original place on the list, since the rolls were renumbered; it consists of a single membrane, and there is no allusion whatever to Sussex, Sedgwick, or Maunsell thereon. As to the possession of Sedgwick in 1268, there is abundant testimony that, after 1242, it belonged to John Maunsell, and another John, possibly his son. Mr. Mansell is, as has been seen, a little confused about his generations. There does not appear to be any

evidence to prove the tenure of Sedgwick by Sir Robert Maunsell; it does not pass to his son Walter, whose possessions are fully reckoned up below, on good authority; and Mr. R. G. Maunsell certainly discounts the theory that it may have been inherited by Walter's son, John, by including it among the manors and lands *acquired* by the latter "between the years 1241 and 1251." There will be more to be said on this point later on.]

WALTER (most probably) eldest son of Robert, held the sergeanty of Little Missenden, Bucks, as Napkin Bearer to the king, and owned the manors and lands of Soulbury (or Solebury), Bucks; Ingpenne, Berks; and lands in Staffordshire by the service of marshalling in the house of the king. He also held one knight's fee of Roger de Someri of the honour of Dudley, and one fee of the honour of the earl and fee of the marshal in Buddeley, county Wilts, and, with Nicholas de Ingpenne and the Abbot of Tyckford, two fees of the fee of Roger de Someri. Also he held two fees in Hartwell, county Northants, of the fee of William de Say of the honour of Dover, half a hide of land of the fee of Pevershale of Nottingham, "by the sergeanty of finding for our lord the king, for his army in Wales, one horse of the price of five shillings, with a halter of the price of one penny, and to pay toll for forty days." (*Vide* Testa de Nevill, pp. 27, 28, 111, 122, 120, 245, 246, 257.)

Walter Maunsell married Hawisia, daughter of John de Someri, by Hawisia, daughter of Gervaise Paganel (which last Hawisia married secondly Roger de Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, county Gloucester).[1]

Walter was one of a family of six sons, according to R. G. Maunsell, who has something to say about most of them, which is confirmed in the majority of instances by various official documents, but which is not of any special interest, as affecting the genealogy

[1] R. G. Maunsell (p. 11) states that Gervaise Paganel married Hawisia, daughter to Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, whose derivation he traces back to a half-sister of the Conqueror. This, however, is an error. Gervaise Paganel, according to Dugdale, married Isabella, daughter to Robert, Earl of Leicester, and widow of Simon St. Lis, Earl of Northampton; and this is confirmed by this "*Isabella Comitissa, uxore mea*" appearing as a witness to a charter executed by Gervaise Paganel. *Vide* Mon. Angl. Vol. i., p. [illegible]. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i., p. 432.

or history of the family. It may serve, however, on occasion to establish the succession, which is by no means always vouched for; the possession of lands, or the assignment of dower to a widow, and so forth.

The genealogy as set forth by R. G. Maunsell is therefore given, subject to possible amendments hereafter, and leaving for a future chapter the exploits which are briefly recounted of one or two members of the family.

ROBERT MAUNSELL second son (so far as is known) of Sir Robert, held lands in Sancketon and Terlington, county Leicester. He was, however, deprived of his possessions for siding with the barons against King John, but these were restored on the accession of Henry III., in Leicester Bedford, and Essex, and he was one of the twelve knights nominated for the afforesting of county Leicester in 1227. He also held lands of Pateshull, county Stafford, in 1236; and in this same year he and his wife had some litigation against William "extraneum" concerning a mill-race at Sancketon. He married Matilda, daughter of —— de Saunderville, of Teignworth, county Leicester. (Testa de Nevill, p. 46; Pipe Rolls, Henry II.;[1] Excerpta a Rotulis Finium, 1216-1247, p. 310.)

HUMPHREY, or UMPHRY, Robert's (probably) eldest son, held lands in Kynwardsbeg, county Devon; he married Sibilla who survived him, and, in 1254, obtained from her father-in-law in dower the lands of Ellesburn, county Wilts. (Testa de Nevill, p. 177.)

ROBERT, the second son, died without issue, 1247.

JOHN died unmarried.

HENRY, third son, so far as is known, of Sir Robert, held lands in Wexham, Bucks, in 1225. (Testa de Nevill, p. 246.)

GODEFRIDUS was in command of King John's ships in 1204, and took them to Rouen; according to R. G. Maunsell, he was fourth son of Sir Robert; but this is by no means certain.

R. G. Maunsell has next, as fifth son of Sir Robert, William,

[1] The testimony of these documents as to the tenure of land in counties Leicester and Stafford must be accepted with some demur: they appear, from the dates, to be not applicable to Robert Maunsell's father, Sir Robert; but they may, of course, have come to him eventually.

who, he states, had plaint against John de Caverton for the lands of Shenley. This is true, certainly, of one William Maunsell (*vide* Pipe Rolls, Henry II.), but there is a disabling anachronism which excludes this William as fifth son of Sir Robert; for the plaint referred to was lodged in the year 1183, some years before Sir Robert could have had any son approaching manhood.

This William, therefore, and his son Thomas, who follows, must be ruled out, and some other place found for them in the genealogy.

SAMPSON, placed as youngest son of Sir Robert, held lands in Turvey, Bucks, in the year 1235. It may be this Sampson to whom Gabriel Ogilvy refers, at the foot of the first column of his pedigree; but Ogilvy derives him from Geoffrey—a doubtful person.

WILLIAM, son of Sampson, held lands in Tortworth and Minchene Hampton, county Gloucester, in 1236. (Testa de Nevill, p. 74.)

It now remains only to name the issue of Walter Maunsell, in order to bring the genealogy down to the point indicated in the opening of this chapter.

According to R. G. Maunsell, Walter had five sons, and two daughters, *viz.*:

JOHN, of whom later.

PHILIP (died without issue).

HENRY, held the presentation to the benefice of Soulbury in 1276.

PETER, became a monk at Tickford; and possibly it may have been this same Peter Maunsell who was made Prior of Langkwyn in Wales, in the year 1287. (Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. i., p. 580.)

ROBERT, who paid homage to the king for lands in Northants, in the year 1250.

MICHAEL, in 1279 assigned to Walter de Agmondeshem certain lands in Agmondeshem, a portion of the lands which his father held by sergeanty of Little Missenden.

CLARISSA, married Sir Geoffrey de Childewick, of county Hertford.

Another daughter, name not mentioned, married one Le Norays.

Concerning John Maunsell there is a great deal to be said. By some chroniclers he is not accepted as having the right to be included in the regular line of the Maunsells. His claims will, however, be fully discussed in the chapter especially devoted to his life and exploits.

Walter Maunsell must have died about 1250, or earlier, as in that year his widow, Hawisia, held the lands of Ingpenne in dower.

It may be as well to summarise here the Maunsells, already alluded to, who, though their names appear in official or other records, it has not been found possible to place in any consecutive genealogy.

Taking Gabriel Ogilvy's document first, and omitting all those who are not thus vouched for :

Sayer Maunsell, in the first column, may reasonably be accepted, in view of Ralph Maunsell's charter, as a real personage ; but he comes in, by Ogilvy's arrangement, a generation too soon.

William Maunsell, in the second column, living in 1165, who held lands in Gloucester of Henry de Newmarch ; and Robert, in the same column, who held lands of the Archbishop of York.

This William has already been discussed. Robert is not to be identified ; he would be a contemporary of Sir Robert the Crusader, but there is no evidence to connect the two.

John Maunsell, *temp.* King John, mentioned in Rotuli Curiæ Regis. He is of Rutland ; cannot be placed.

Thomas, apparently John's son, mentioned also in Rotuli Curiæ Regis.

William, who is wrongly placed by R. G. Maunsell as the fifth son of Sir Robert Maunsell, undoubtedly owned lands, as stated by Mr. Maunsell, at Witewic (Whitewick), Leicester, and elsewhere, and held the advowson of the church at Witewic, as did likewise his son Thomas.

William had a plea against John de Caverton about lands in Shenlee, in 1183 ; he is quite isolated with regard to descent, but there is corroboration of R. G. Maunsell's statements concerning William, Thomas, and the two daughters of Thomas, in official records. They may be considered later, in connection with Shenlee, or Shenley.

Richard Maunsell, mentioned in a charter of Pagan de Alneto, end of eleventh century; cannot be placed.

Of the exploit of Sir Robert Maunsell in the East there is an account in "The History of the Life of King Henry the Second," by George, Lord Lyttleton, with some introductory remarks concerning the development of the episode which are of interest.

"Ægypt had, for some centuries, been under the dominion of schismatical caliphs, who deriving their pedigree, or pretending to derive it, from Fathemah, the daughter of Mahomet married to Ali, were called Fathemites or Alides, and maintained themselves against the caliphs of Bagdat, who descending only from Abbas, Mahomet's uncle, were not by their blood (if the genealogy of their rivals had not been disputed) entitled to an equal degree of veneration from the Mahometan sect. But these Fathemites, whose empire had spread over Mauritania, Numidia, Barbary, and all the sea-coast of Africk, from whence they had made themselves masters of Ægypt, became so indolent there, that, like the caliphs of Bagdat, they abandoned all business and care of the government to the generals of their armies, who, with the title of *soldans*, were really kings, leaving to them a mere form and shadow of royalty, supported only by the reverence which their family drew from the bigotry of the people. One of these ministers, called Sonar by the Latin historians contemporary with him, but whose true name was Schaour, procured aid from Noureddin to destroy a competitor, who had driven him out of Ægypt; but the general of those forces, while the soldan whom he came to assist was at Cairo, got possession of Belbeis, the ancient Pelusium, and kept it for his master. Schaour, whose own strength was not able to recover that important frontier place, which opened a passage to the armies of Noureddin for an absolute conquest of Ægypt, had recourse to Amalarick, king of Jerusalem, the valour of whose troops he before had proved to his cost; and by a promise of a tribute, or annual subsidy, of forty thousand crowns of gold, bought his assistance to drive the Turkish soldiers of Noureddin, the common enemy of both kingdoms, out of Belbeis. After a siege of three months the town was recovered; and Amalarick returned from thence into Syria, where, during his absence, events of importance had happened. For Noureddin, awaiting the success of his general's operations in Ægypt, had taken a post on the confines of Damascus, and thought himself there so secure of not being molested by the Christians of Palestine, while their sovereign was in Ægypt with all the best of his troops, that he neglected even the usual and necessary cautions to prevent a surprize. Intelligence of this being given to Gilbert de Lacy, a great baron of England, *Robert Mansel, a knight of*

Wales, and two nobles of Aquitaine, whom a desire of glory, and the merit of fighting for what they deemed the cause of Christ, had brought to Antioch at this time, they got together a few soldiers of that Principality, and joining them to some Welsh, who had come into Palestine under the conduct of *Maksel*, assaulted by night the sultan's camp, and carrying into it, by their sudden and unexpected attack, the utmost terror and confusion, while the darkness concealed the smallness of their numbers, put to the sword, or took prisoners, the greatest part of his army. He himself, with much difficulty, escaped by flight, leaving behind him his arms and all his baggage. Thus gloriously did the Welsh make known to the bravest of the people of Asia, to the Saracens and the Turks, the British valour!" (Vol. iii., pp. 280-282.)

The scene of this incident was Tripoli, on the coast of Syria.

It will be convenient to insert at this point the genealogy from John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, down to Richard Maunsell, who married Lucy, daughter and heir of Philip Scurlage, as set forth in detail in R. G. Maunsell's book, pp. 14-18; it is summarised in a succeeding chapter, in comparison with other genealogies, to the same period.

The steps in this genealogy cannot be vouched for, and may be questioned later on; but there are certain points of interest, as connecting the family with various counties, which are here displayed in a convenient form for later reference.

The authorities for Mr. Maunsell's isolated details as to holdings of land, etc., have been, wherever possible, appended here, the author having, as usual, withheld them; but they must not be understood as proving anything beyond the actual facts alluded to, or as justifying in any particular instance the deduction arrived at by the author.

JOHN MAUNSELL, Provost of Beverley, *ob.* 1265, had issue:

I. THOMAS, of whom afterwards.

II. JOHN, described in the Rotulorum Chart, 30 Henry III., as John Maunsell, jun.; got from the king the advowson of Lugwardine church, and churches or chapels in Urchingfield, county Hereford. In Irish "Close Rolls" he is described as brother of Walter, and acknowledges himself indebted to William, Archbishop of Cashel, in £300. (Cal. Charter Rolls, vol. i., p. 290.)

III. HENRY, who was killed at Northampton in 1264, whilst defending the citadel for the barons against the royal forces. He does not appear to have been married.

IV. WALTER, who was entrusted with the king's letters to the Archbishop of Cashel. On January 23, 1251, he got the gift of the Capital Sergeancy of Munster, and on March 1 of that year, as per commission signed by John Maunsell, he was appointed Governor of the Castle of Occonath in that district. Occonath was situate in that district, portion of which is now known as Coonagh, and then comprised the counties Limerick and Tipperary, etc. He also held the Castle of Balygady. On Maunsell's death, in 1318, the sergeancy of Munster was given to Robert Bagod, and the Castle of Balygady to Maurice de Rupeforte, "to hold the same till the lawful age of Walter's heir." He had issue:

(1) ROBERT, who was sheriff of Tipperary in 1304, and died before his father, leaving a son, John, who in 1346 was co-sheriff of the county of the Cross of Tipperary with John Everhard. In the baronies of Elliogurty and Iffa and Offa, in that county, is a town-land called Maunsellstown.

(2) PHILIP; sold lands at Thomastown, county Kilkenny, in 1307, to Gilbert de Clare, and then held by Joan, Countess of Gloucester.

(3) JOHN.

(4) THOMAS.

(Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1252-1284, p. 2; *ibid.*, 1171-1251, p. 462; *ibid.*, 1302-1307, p. 192; 1194)

V. GALFRIDUS, who held lands Grillington, county Yorks, and gave all his lands in Inkpenne, Berks, to Tickfield or Tickford Priory, which lands are described as having been formerly held by John Maunsell, lord of the manor. He became a monk at Tickford.

VI. RICHARD, who in 1253 held jointly with his brother Thomas the manor markets and fairs, and free warren in Budeford or Bridforth, county Yorks, and in 1262 the king granted him a licence to hunt in that county. He also held lands of Comb Quynton, county Cumberland. He also held Hundreds in Hovedene, county Yorks, and his bailiff, John Skelton, vacated a certain ward to Richard the Forester. He had issue:

(1) JOHN, of Brudeford, who had action against Wm. de Karliols in 1307, and was declared owner of the property at Comb Quynton. He married Isabella, daughter and co-heir of Richard de Ste Dyonysio of Hempstead, county Norfolk, and in 1312 had licence to enfeoff half

the manor of Hempstead with the moiety of the church of Norfolk; and had also the licence of the king to grant Henry Maunsell and Beatrice his wife one moiety of the manor of Hempstead, by Inham (rightly Ingham), and the advowson of a moiety of its church, held in chief, and the reversion of the other moiety, which Roger de Thorpe, of Wystonwe, and Joan his wife held for their lives. He had issue:

(1) HENRY, referred to above, married Beatrice, daughter of Thomas de Berton of Rondham, county Norfolk, and had issue:

(a) JOHN, who paid 20s. for licence to obtain the advowson of Hempstead in 1358, and died unmarried in 1362.

(b) WALTER, who died unmarried in 1365.

(c) ALICIA, married and had a daughter, Beatrice, aged 30 in 1365.

(d) MARIOTA, married and had a daughter Rosa, aged 18 in 1365. Rosa married Robert Rebel, for in 1365 the king commanded the Sheriff of Norfolk to "get security from Beatrix, dau. of Alicia Maunsell—the one, Robert Rebel, and Rosa his wife, dau. of Mariot Maunsell, the other—to make lawful partition of the moiety of the manor of Hempstead, with its appurtenances, held of the king in chief by military service."

(2) WALTER, who was of Hoton, county Cumberland, and had a son:

(a) PATRICK, aged 21 in 1286, in which year the king accepted his fidelity for all the lands and tenements which his father held in chief of the king.

(3) ADAM, who had the right of the gift of the Priory of St. Swithin, Winchester, which, on his demise in 1280, reverted to the king, and which the king then granted for life to Aungu de Chancovy (or Chaucombe).

(Cal. Patent Rolls, 1272-1281, p. 370. *Ibid.*, 1354-1358, p. 535. *Ibid.*, 1307-1313, pp. 275, 396, 397, 582. *Ibid.*, 1258-1266, p. 194. Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, vol. iii., p. 99. Cal. Fine Rolls, vol. i., p. 340. Cal. Charter Rolls, vol. i., p. 434. Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. i., p. 131. But John Skelton was bailiff to *John* Maunsell, not Richard. *Ibid.*, p. 508. Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," vol. ix., p. 300. Blomefield erroneously makes Beatrix and Rosa *sisters*, ignoring Mariota.)

Thomas Maunsell, in 1225, held jointly with Alexander

d'Oville, from the Earl of Arundel, the lands of Tackele, county Oxon; he also held lands in Bucks and Berks, the manor of Reddeston, and a half-fee in Farendun, Northants, under the Earl of Winchester, as well as the lands in Yorks held jointly with his brother Richard.

He was escheator of Bucks, 1251, and jurator in Essex in 1255. . . . He also held lands in Papeworth Hundred, Kent, of Thomas de Ellesworth by service of two suits of court per annum, where his father had held lands at 1d. per year.

He married first Hana, daughter of Sir Henry Grey, knight, son of John Grey, Justice of Chester, progenitor of Lords Grey of Wilton and Ruthyn, and who gave to the Canons of Nutley, Bucks, a cottage in county Norfolk, to pray for his soul and that of Aleanor his wife. This John Grey was son of Henry de Grey, of Thurlock Grey, Essex, by Isolda, niece and sole heir of Robert Bardolf.

He married, secondly, Johanna, who survived him; and in the Hilary term at York, 27 Edward I., she recovered lands at Croydon as daughter and heiress of Walter de Winchesham. (Testa de Nevill, pp. 101, 193.)

[This is transcribed as written; but, as has already been pointed out, John Maunsell could not, by Mr. Maunsell's own genealogy, have had a grown-up son Thomas in 1275.]

By his first wife Sir Thomas had issue:

I. HENRY, of whom afterwards.

II. JOHN, who held the lands of Doddeworth, county Berks, and in 1292, jointly with Elias Eddison, held the manor of Eddison, county Leicester, of John de Hastings by the service of half a knight's fee, Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, holding them of Philip Marmion, as of his honour and castle of Tamworth. He married Isabella, who survived him, and she, 29 Edward I., recovered the lands Neuton, Herecut, Thughton, Burton, and Contesse Thorpe, in county Leicester, from Richard de Ernesby. He left issue:

(1) JOHN, named in a State paper, July 8, 1310, as John, son of John Maunsell. In 1313 letters of protection were issued to him on his going beyond seas with the Earl of Richmond in the king's service. In 1324 he was assessed on the lands of Eddeston and Doddeworth; and on his death in 1331-2, the king's escheator was commanded to take into the king's hands all the lands of which John Maunsell died possessed, during the minority of the heir.

He married Joan ——, and had a son:

. . . HARD, aged 13 at his father's death, and who, in 1398, held the lands of Burbache and Eddeston from the Earl of Arundel.

(Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, vol. iii., p. 20. [Eddison should be *Oddeston*]. Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. i., p. 118. Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, Edward III., vol. vii., p. 256. John's son, aged 13 at his father's death, was *Robert*, not Richard.)

III. JOAN, who married her grandfather's ward, Henry Hoese, who, in 1264, had taken part with the barons against the king, but in 55 Henry III. was pardoned, and had free warren for his manor of Childerston, county Kent. He was ancestor of the Barons of Galtrim, and of Edward Hussey; created Earl of Beaulieu in 1784.

(Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i., p. 623. Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, Edward I., vol. ii., p. 473. Hasted's History of Kent, vol. iii., p. 640. There is confusion between this Henry Hoese and his grandfather; and Joan, who married Henry Hoese, was *granddiece*, not granddaughter of John Maunsell.)

Henry Maunsell married Elina or Ellinor, daughter of Hugh Haels, and had, with other issue, an eldest son:

SIR WALTER MAUNSELL, Knight of the Sepulchre, who held the manor of Missenden, etc., county Bucks, in capite of the king. He married Emma, daughter of Sir William Langton, and dying about the latter end of the reign of Edward II., was buried before the altar of St. Botolph's Church, London.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, SIR ROBERT MAUNSELL, also Knight of the Sepulchre, who was of Missenden, etc., and Hanslape, county Bucks, which latter lands his representatives held in 1453 of Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Fry, knight, and had, with other issue, a son:

RICHARD MAUNSELL, who married Lucy, daughter and heir of Philip Scurlage, Lord of Scurlage Castle, Glamorganshire.

In the Barons' Wars, while John Maunsell, their father, was actively and incessantly engaged upon the king's side, his sons—according to this genealogy—Thomas and Henry, had thrown in their lot with the barons.

The award, or *mise* of Amiens, by which King Henry III. hoped, with the concurrence of the French king, to bring about a reconciliation between himself and the barons, proved to be valueless. It was executed January 23, 1264; and before the spring was far advanced the civil war was raging as fiercely as before.

Simon de Montfort summoned the barons to a general meeting at Northampton; but before they had time to collect all their forces

and strengthen their position, on April 5 Prince Edward advanced and attacked the town and castle.

It is said that the Prior of the Cluniac community of St. Andrew, which lay near the north gate of the town, had, with his monks, made a passage under the walls, concealing the outside entrance with timber, and had acquainted the king with this fact.

By this means, while the attention of the garrison was called off by a false parley at another point, the monks admitted Philip Bassett and forty knights, who surprised and overpowered the town. Two days later the castle surrendered, and among the prisoners were fifteen knights-banneret, who had been knighted by Simon de Montfort; and also Simon de Montfort the younger.

Sir Thomas Maunsell was one of these fifteen knights who were compelled to surrender to the king's forces, and it is said that he was wounded; he was not destined, however, to remain very long a prisoner, for on May 14 following the king was defeated at the Battle of Lewes, when the prisoners taken at Northampton were doubtless liberated.

Sir Thomas Maunsell was, however, eventually pardoned and restored to position and favour with the king, after the conclusion of the civil war.

(A knight-banneret was of a higher order than knight-bachelor; the former carried a square banner, the latter a forked or pointed pennon, while an esquire displayed a "pencel," or narrow streamer.)

CHAPTER IV

The Maunsells of Gloucestershire

THERE is much matter of interest concerning the Gloucestershire Maunsells, contained in various histories, etc., of the county, and more particularly in the Supplementary Notes by Sir Thomas Phillipps, appended to Bigland's "Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections relative to the County of Gloucester."

Sir Thomas was especially interested in the subject, for reasons which will appear in due course, and was at considerable pains in seeking out various records bearing upon it. The results of the researches of so eminent and accomplished an antiquarian may be accepted without hesitation; and these and other records, which appear in the county histories above alluded to, throw some light upon the genealogical details supplied by R. G. Maunsell, tending, in some instances, to discredit them.

Leaving Bigland's work, with Sir Thomas Phillipps' supplement, for later consideration, the following details appear in an "Abstract of Records and MSS. respecting the County of Gloucester," by T. D. Fosbroke (1807):

"William Maunsell died seized of the manor of Lypiate, held of the Earl of Hereford (John de Bohun), by homage, fealty, and suit of court of the said Earl, at Gloucester, from month to month. William was his son and heir. It was alienated to the Whittingtons in the 15th century." (Vol. i., p. 338.)

Page 364, under Rodborough, he says: "Sir John Spilman (Spelman?) had issue by a daughter of Will. Mauncell, with whom he had lands in Stroud." According to R. G. Maunsell, this William was the one mentioned above as the first holder of Lypiate.

Vol. ii., p. 239. Fosbroke mentions "Dimock Parva, Maunsell Gamage, Gamage Hall, or Mune," as though the several names indicate one locality, parish, or manor. On p. 240 it is spelt "Malmeshull Gamage," which suggests that *Maunsell* may have been derived from *Malmeshull*.[1]

"A New History of Gloucestershire," by Samuel Rudder. 1779.[1]

Page 291. Parish of Bisley. "William Mansfield [*sic*] held one vineyard, sixteen acres of land, and three acres of wood in Bisley, 18 Ed. II. (1325)."

Page 712, under Stroud: "In Mansel's Mead, south of the town, is a chalybeate mineral spring."

Page 713. Upper, or Over Lypiate. "This manor was held by the honour of Hereford, and was antiently in the family of the Mansells. William Mansell died seized of Over Lypiate, which he had by grant of Alexander de Domesbourne, as appears by an inquisition after his death, 18 Ed. II., and Philip Mansell died seized of the same 19 Rich. II., 1396."

The author does not state how or when it passed from the Maunsells, but concludes: "It was for several generations in the family of the Wyes, who are mentioned by Leland (Itin., v., 6) as residing at Lypiate."

Page 775, under Tortworth: "The Sheriff returned that Nicholas de Kyneston was lord of Tortworth 9 Ed. I. (1281), and it is extremely probable that his mother was one of the daughters and co-heiresses of a former proprietor, and that Margaret (or Margaretta), the other co-heiress, was married to Sir William Mansel, of Lypiate; for Sir William Mansel and Margaret his wife released all their right in the manor and advowson of Tortworth to Sir Nicholas, who at the same time released his right in other lands to them, in the 27th year of that reign (1299)."

There can be no doubt but that this Sir William is identical with the one named on p. 9 of R. G. Maunsell's book, who, as he

[1] Thomas Dudley Fosbroke (1770-1842) was an antiquary of some note; Samuel Rudder was also a well-known man in his time.

states, married Margaretta, and whose son William held Lypiate Manor.

Turning to Bigland's work, in which the parishes are inserted in alphabetical order: under number ccxxiii, vol. ii., appears the following record: Saperton, which includes Frampton:

"Wm. Maunsell held two parts of a knight's fee of Henry de Novo Mercato in 1166."

This William appears in Ogilvy's pedigree as a descendant of the problematical Richard Cenomannicus; whatever may have been his derivation, his existence in the year mentioned is vouched for by unimpeachable evidence (Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 169).

The next record is as follows: "William Maunsell held fifth part of a knight's fee of James de Novo Mercato in 1236."

This William must be identical with the one who appears on p. 9 of R. G. Maunsell's book, as holding certain lands in Gloucester in 1236. R. G. Maunsell represents him as the son of Sampson, but from the above record it would appear that he was probably the son of the preceding William, two successive generations of Maunsell holding of two generations of Novo Mercato; and this view is confirmed by the record following:

"William Maunsell held one messuage, two carucates, and 20 acres of wood in Frampton juxta Saperton, 1306."

This is obviously the Sir William of R. G. Maunsell, pp. 9, 10.

Again: "William, aged 30 in 1325, held Lypiate in 1344, which he obtained by grant from John Alexander, of Duntesborn, in 1321."

The age of this William is obtained from the Inq. Post Mortem on his father's estate, 18 Edward II.; R. G. Maunsell correctly states that he was born in 1295.

The record proceeds: "Philip Maunsell, his son, in 1386 held Over or Upper Lypiate. He was indebted £500 to Richard Whittington, Mercer of London"—afterwards the famous Lord Mayor.

These records are vouched for by Sir Thomas Phillipps, who adds: "From this time we find no more of the descendants of Philip, who probably became a pauper; but he may have had children."

R. G. Maunsell has a different account of this Philip, which will be considered later; there is also a story of a certain Philip Mauncel who was governor of La Rochelle in 1372, possibly the same man.[1] He is said by R. G. Maunsell to have married a daughter of Sir John Atthyle, of Geystwick, county Norfolk, Sir John came of an old Saxon family, whose earliest ancestors were named de la How; Sir John was the first of the name to settle in Norfolk.

Before proceeding further with the account of the Maunsell family's connection with Gloucester, there is a curious question of blason which arises out of the Norfolk connection in the two generations of Sir William Maunsell and his son Philip.

Sir William's daughter married Sir John Spelman, knight, of Norfolk, and R. G. Maunsell says: "In Narburgh Church, Norfolk, is a monument over which may be seen the arms of Spelman, quartering Maunsell in the sixth," etc. In Blomefield's "History of Norfolk" this monument is also alluded to, and it is stated that the arms displayed in this sixth quarter are Maunsell—azure, semé of cross-crosslets, three crescents argent. R. G. Maunsell also alludes to a memorial or window which, he says, is evidently to (Sir) Philip Mauncell, as it displays this same coat of-arms. Now, none of the various pedigrees and rolls in which the Maunsell coat-of-arms is described or represented shows anything in the least degree resembling this coat. Sir William Maunsell, as has been seen (*vide* ch. ii.), bore, *temp.* Edward I., gules, a fess argent, which was the coat borne by all the Gloucester Maunsells, sometimes with a label; nor is there any record extant of this alleged shield in Narburgh

[1] *Vide* "Histoire de France," by Louis-Pierre Anquetil. Vol. i., p. 299. The story will be told further on.

Church being borne by any branch of the family. It is here alluded to as the "alleged" coat of deliberate purpose; for there is not now, and has not been for many years, any charge or device whatever to be distinguished upon this sixth quarter, nor upon any memorial or window to Philip Mauncell. The whole design—charges, tinctures, and all—appears to have been purposely and effectually obliterated; which tends rather to the conclusion that it was originally placed there through some error. The Spelman coat-of-arms was sable, platy (or semé of plates), between two flaunches, argent, and this is still in evidence, both on the shield and carved in stone outside the church. In Harley MSS., No. 1543 (Visitations of Gloucester), there is a shield, sable, semé of cross-crosslets argent, three crescents or, to which is attached the name of Dewhurst; but there is no connection to be traced between this family and the Spelmans. One Samuel Dewhurst was appointed rector at Congham, Norfolk, in 1580. It is possible that this coat was assumed by a descendant of Sir William Maunsell—perhaps by Philip, who apparently left no issue, and so it would disappear. The monument alluded to is erected to Clement Spelman, knight, who died early in the seventeenth century.

Resuming the account of the Maunsell holdings in Gloucestershire. Frampton, now known as Frampton Mansel, was included, at the time of the Domesday Visitation, with Saperton. It is recorded that, before the Conquest, it was owned by Ulf, and afterwards by Robert de Todeni, to whom it was given by William the Conqueror. The name of this Robert de Todeni does not appear on the Battle Abbey Rolls as a follower of William at the time of the Conquest, but he was evidently in favour with the latter, and on his death, in 1088, his son, William de Todeni, succeeded to the possession of the Manor, and changed his name to Albini Britonis. There is some obscurity after this as to the successive holders of the manor of Frampton; though it was coupled with Saperton—"Sapeltorne and Franton"—in the Domesday record, it does not appear to have been held, together with Saperton, by Alard le Fleming, nor does it appear in the division of Fleming's property between his two

daughters and co-heiresses—Ann, who married William de Insula, and Joan, who married Henry Hoese, or Hussey. It passed, however, into the Bohun family, for the next notice to be found of it is that William Mauncel, in 1306, held one messuage, two carucates of arable land, and twenty acres of wood in Frampton juxta Saperton, of John de Bohun (Inq. Post Mortem, 1325). It had not then acquired the additional name of Mansel.

Saperton was held, *temp.* John, by Alard Flandricus, *alias* le Fleming, above alluded to, and Sir Thomas Phillipps has transcribed, from Sir Robert Atkyns' work,[1] a pedigree showing the devolution of the estate, through the families of Hussey and Poole, to the possession of Sir Robert himself, who bought it from Sir Henry Poole in the year 1660.

Probably the Maunsells had no more to do with Frampton or Lypiate after the death of Philip, son of William (*Sir* Philip of R. G. Maunsell); Sir Thomas Phillipps was apparently unable to trace the time or occasion of the addition of "Mansel" to the name of Frampton; it must have been after the death of Philip Mancel in 1396; probably some time during the fifteenth century.

The devolution of the tenure of Saperton is shown in the pedigree opposite, above alluded to.

Sir Thomas Phillipps constructs a pedigree, illustrating the Maunsell-Whittington connection, and the introduction of Alexander *alias* Maunsell (see page 92), adding:

"It is not improbable that a marriage took place about this time (1523) between the Alexanders and Mauncels, which may account for the family of Alexander assuming the additional name of Mauncel. For it is singular that the branch of Alexander (already settled at Charlton Kings before the 1st of Ed. III., 1327), took the name of Alexander *alias* Mauncel about the time of the death of Wm. Alexander of Pynbere in Duntesborne."

Sir Thomas Phillipps then proceeds to trace his own descent,

[1] "Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire," by Sir Robert Atkyns. 1768.

ALARD FLANDRICUS, *alias* le Fleming, held Saperton, *temp.* John =

HENRY, held Saperton *c.* 10 Hen. III. (Testa de Nevill); had livery 5 Hen. III. (Pedes Finum) =

JOHN, *o.s.p.* . . . . . =

ALARD FLEMING = Anne, or Emma (?) = Henry de la Lay

WM. de Insula *ob.* 19 Ed. III. = ANNE, eld. dau. and co-heir

JOAN, younger dau. and co-heir = Henry Hoese, *or* Hussey, *ob.* 6 Ed. III.

WALTER, had livery, 20 Ed. III., *ob.* 31 Ed. III. = JOAN, *ob.* 49 Ed. III. held in dower

SIR HENRY *ob.* 21 Ed. III. = Elizabeth (dau. of John de Bohun)

MARK *o.s.p.*

WILLIAM, 51 Ed. III., 8 Ric. II. = Margaret 8 Ric. II.

SIR HENRY, *ob.* 7 Ric. II. = Anne

JOHN

SIR HENRY, 10 Hen. IV. = Margaret

ELIZABETH

HENRY, *æt.* 22, 10 Hen. IV. . . . Poole of Cheshire =

JOHN (2nd son)

Sir Wm. Nottingham, bought both moieties, *ob.* 2 Ric. III., 1435 = Elizabeth, of Gouldwell, Kent, survived = RICH. POOL, of Cotes, or Glaus, bought Saperton at the treatees of Sir Wm. Nottingham, 7 Hen. VII.

SIR LEONARD, 30 Hen. VIII. = Katharine, dau. of Sir Giles Bridges

SIR GILES, *ob.* 1588 = Elizabeth, dau. and co-heir of Thos. Whittington of Pauntley (*see pedigree following*).

SIR HENRY, *ob.* 1616 = Anne, dau. of Sir Wm. Wroughton, of Broadhinton, Wilts.

SIR HENRY = Beatrix, dau. of Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos

SIR WILLIAM = Muriel, dau. of Lord Tracey

SIR HENRY, last heir male, sold Saperton to Sir Robt. Atkyns, 1600

WILLIAM MAUNSELL, who held lands of Hen. de Novo Mercato, 1166 (and who, according to Gabriel Ogilvy, was grandson to Richard [Mansellus] Cenomannicus) =

WILLIAM, who held lands of James de Novo Mercato, in 1236 =

SIR WILLIAM, who received the grant of the manor of Lypiate from Jno. Alexander, 1321 = Margaret (*vide* Subsidy Rolls, 1327)

WILLIAM = Johanna

Dau. of Sir Jno. Atthyle = PHILIP

ALEXANDER DE DUNTESBORNE =

JOHN ALEXANDER of Duntesborne =

JOHN ALEXANDER, in 1321 grants to Wm. Mauncel the manor of Over Lypiate; remainder to his son Wm. Mauncel (Pedes Finium)

WM. ALEXANDER of Pynbere in Duntesborne; will 1544 = Alice

THOMAS, 1544 — ALICE

(*We trace the Alexanders of Charlton Kings from Walter of Charlton Kings, who paid a subsidy of 2s. to the king, 1327*)

RICHARD ALEXANDER of Charlton Kings, 2 Ric. II.

RICH. ALEXANDER, held lands Charlton Kings 4 Hen. IV., 1403 =

WALTER ALISAUNDER, sen., 9 Hen. VI., 1431 =

WALTER ALISAUNDER, jun., 9 Hen. VI. 1431

RICHARD, of Charlton Kings, 14 Hen. VIII., 1523

Wm. Whittington of Pauntley = JOHANNA (*ob.* 47 Ed. III.) Inq. post mort. = Thos. Berkeley of Coberley

WM. WHITTINGTON (50 Ed. III.) = Katherine — THOMAS (*æt.* 21, 46 Ed. III.)

ROBERT (3 Hen. IV.) = SIR RICHARD, Lord Mayor of London

SIR GUY (*ob.* 20 Hen. VI.) = Cecilia

ROBERT *o.s.p.* =

WILLIAM = Elizabeth, aunt and co-heir of Sir Ed. Arundel

Dau. of Ki h. de Croft = JOHN = Elizabeth

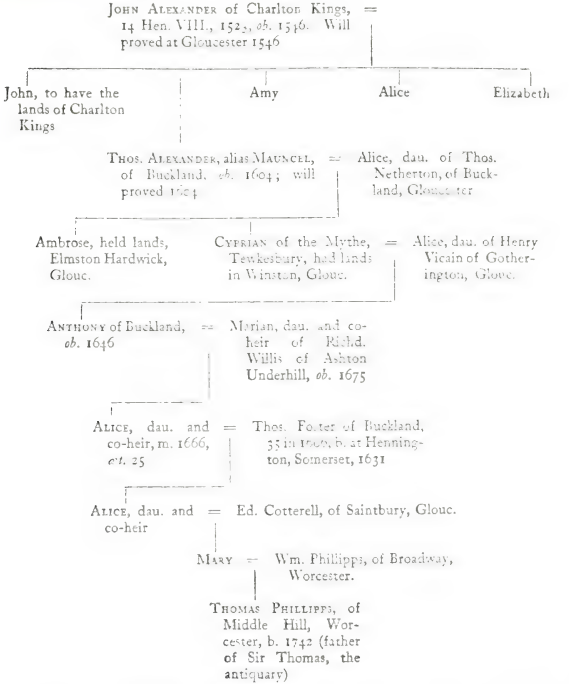
Margery = THOMAS — WILLIAM, of Notgrove, Glouc.

Sir Giles Pool = ELIZABETH (*see preceding pedigree*)

HENRY ELYSAUNDER, *alias* Mauncel, 6 Ed. VI., 1553 =

HENRY bap. 1542 — WALTER bap. 1543 — JOHN bap. 1547 — RICHARD bap. and d. 1551

apparently from a son of Richard Alexander of Charlton Kings, *temp*. Henry VIII. :



The Alexander pedigree is somewhat disjointed, but the isolated details are duly authenticated, and the continuity may fairly be assumed.

Reverting to William Maunsell, who held lands of Henry de Novo Mercato (or Newmarch) in 1165-6. The only indication of his descent appears in Gabriel Ogilvy's pedigree, in which he is derived

from the doubtful Richard Cenomannicus, whom Ogilvy assumes to have been a Maunsell. If this assumption be accepted, it is possible, even probable, that this Richard was of Gloucester or Hereford. The latter "marches" for a short space with Brecknock, where was situated the priory of which he was a benefactor, and which was founded by Bernard de Newmarch in 1088; and since it has been shown that Maunsells held lands of Newmarch in two succeeding generations, there is thus the indication of continuous dealings and perhaps friendships between the two families during this period, tending to relieve this William Maunsell of a certain isolation, and pointing to the possible connection of the Maunsells with Gloucester nearly as far back as Domesday.

This hypothesis is, however, somewhat discounted by certain revelations concerning Bernard de Newmarch which are furnished from another source.

Bernard de Newmarch was the Norman conqueror of Brecknock, and after he had settled there he took to wife a Welsh lady, one Nest, or Nesta, daughter (or perhaps granddaughter) of Llewellyn ap Gryffith, by whom he had a son, Mahael, or Mahell. Bernard was not, however, happy in his choice of a wife from among his new neighbours, for Nest, though she is said to have been a benefactress of some religious houses, was a woman of very bad character, unfaithful to her husband, and unscrupulous in the matter of getting her own way. It is related that she was guilty, after her son Mahael was grown up, of a base intrigue with "a certain knight," whom Mahael, encountering him fresh from his amours with Nest, attacked, severely wounding him. This drastic punishment of her paramour so enraged Nest that, by way of getting even with her son, she went to the king (Henry I.), and declared that Mahael was not her husband's child. This representation of the base and callous woman was accepted as fact by the king, whether justifiably or not there is no evidence to show, with the result that Mahael, the only son, was disinherited, and the king, having presumably assumed the office of guardian to Nest's daughter, Mary (or Sybil), bestowed her in marriage upon Walter de Miles, styled Constable of Gloucester, who was subsequently created Earl of Hereford by the Empress Matilda,

and to whom it is alleged Bernard's daughter brought the whole of the Newmarch estates. This dismal story is related in a History of Wales by Caradoc of Llancarvan, translated by David Powel, and confirmed by no less an authority than "G. E. C." in the Complete Peerage; also by Dugdale in his Baronage of England, though he names Mary as *eldest* daughter of Bernard de Newmarch, which would make her co-heir with her sisters.

The continuity of the Newmarch descent is hereby called in question; or, at least, the relationship of Henry and James to Bernard is rendered somewhat obscure. Mahael having been disinherited, and the lands alienated by his sister's marriage with Walter de Milo, the question arises, who was Henry de Newmarch, of whom William Maunsell held lands in 1165? He may have been son to Mahael, who perhaps acquired lands subsequently, and left them to Henry; James may have been son to the latter, but there is no certainty in the matter.

The pedigree, as deduced from Ogilvy, Bigland, and Sir Thomas Phillipps, would be somewhat as follows:

RICHARD MANSEL Cenomannicus, gave lands to Breeknock Priory, founded by Bernard de Novo Mercato in the year 1088 =

GUERIN MANSEL, gave land in Bailleul, in the fee of Ralph de Tosny, to the Monastery of Couches in Normandy =

WILLIAM MANSEL, held in 1166 two parts of a knight's fee of Henry de Novo Mercato in Gloucestershire =

WILLIAM MAUNSELL, held in 1236 fifth part of a knight's fee of James de Novo Mercato =

SIR WILLIAM MAUNSELL, died 1324 seised of Lypiate Manor, and other lands in Gloucester = Margaretta

WILLIAM MAUNSELL, b. 1285, held lands in Lypiate and Bisley, Gloucester = Sir John Spelman = a daughter

PHILIP MAUNSELL, held lands in Berks and Oxon, and Lypiate, Gloucester; *obit.* 1396 = dau. of Sir John Asthyle, of Geystwick, Co. Norfolk

This appears quite feasible, assuming that Gabriel Ogilvy had some ground for his original assumption. Another Richard Mansel, who would be a contemporary of Richard Cenomannicus, has already been mentioned in connection with the family of de Alneto, or Dawney,[1] of Bucks or Beds; they may conceivably be identical. This would not materially affect the tentative pedigree.

R. G. Maunsell's genealogy is hereby, as has already been remarked, called in question; and there is undoubtedly some weakness about it with regard to the immediate succession from Sir Robert, the crusader of 1163. He has, as Sir Robert's fifth son, a William who is put out of court at once by the author's own citation of a lawsuit, to which this son could not have been old enough to be a party; and yet this William certainly existed, and was a contemporary of the first William in the above pedigree; quite possibly the two are identical.

R. G. Maunsell, although he gives a reproduction of Gabriel Ogilvy's document, under the title of an "Ancient Pedigree," altogether ignores it in his genealogical excursions, which is scarcely wise on his part. Ogilvy is extremely rash, as has been freely indicated, in some of his statements, and his genealogy is so disjointed as to be scarcely worthy the name; but he introduces some Maunsells who are not to be found elsewhere, and whose existence is vouched for by official documents; so it is better to try to place them than to ignore them.

R. G. Maunsell makes no such attempt with regard to William, who held lands of Henry de Novo Mercato in 1165-66, and who is very possibly grandfather to Sir William. It must be admitted, however, that there is a strong case for Sampson as father of William II. in this pedigree.

With regard to Bigland's second pedigree, dealing with the Whittington-Maunsell and Alexander connections, there is ground for calling in question some of the steps.

Richard Whittington, the famous Lord Mayor, is here represented as the grandson of Joan or Johanna Mansel, by her marriage

[1] See *ante*, p. 54.

with William Whittington of Pauntley; but the pedigree given in Samuel Lysons' "Model Merchant of the Middle Ages" shows Sir Richard as the *son* of Sir William Whittington. The writer in the Dict. Nat. Biog. confirms this statement, which is probably correct. Sir William died in 1359, and Sir Richard in 1423; and Samuel Lysons states that, in the *Ordinances of his College*, at Mercer's Hall, Sir William and Joan are named by Sir Richard as his father and mother. There is also a discrepancy as to the two marriages of Joan Mansel; Lysons states that she "remarried, after her husband's decease, Thomas Berkeley, of Coberley, county Gloucester"; while the Dict. Nat. Biog. speaks of Sir William Whittington as Joan's second husband, and suggests that Sir William suffered the penalty of outlawry—which he did, for some cause or another—by reason of his marrying Thomas Berkeley's widow without license. Joan died in 1373, and her son by her marriage with Thomas Berkeley was twenty-one in 1373. Samuel Lysons' dates are misleading, by reason of the misprint of 1350 for 1360 as the year of Sir William Whittington's death (33 Edward III.); it should be 1359. Thomas Berkeley died about 1352, and Joan married Sir William a year or two later, and survived him: she is alluded to at the inquisition after her death as "wife of Wm. Whittington," which makes it quite clear that he was her second husband.

With regard to Philip Mauncel, brother to this Joan or Johanna: R. G. Maunsell alludes to him as "Sir Philip," and states that he died seized of certain lands in Berks, Oxon. and Gloucester, rather conveying the impression that he was a man of substance, and by no means in peril of pauperism, as hinted by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Sir Thomas was, however, more or less justified in his deductions. Philip Mauncel, to begin with, was not a knight; he is described in the Inq. Post Mortem (19 Richard II., No. 59) as "Armiger," *i.e.*, "Esquire," of the county of Gloucester, and appears by the depositions to have been either a very unfortunate or a somewhat dishonourable man. He was indebted to his nephew, Richard Whittington, mercer of London, in the sum of five hundred pounds, and failing to repay him, long after the stipulated time, was put in prison. His lands, at his death, were valued as assets against his

debt ; no mention is made of any heir ; and the Sheriff of Gloucester is apparently sceptical even as to the fact of his death, which, he reports, he has "not found" : so that altogether Philip does not appear to have been the kind of person over whom Maunsells, past or present, need expend much breath in laudation.

Apparently he left no issue, and so this branch here becomes extinct.

R. G. Maunsell's genealogy would run thus :

SIR ROBERT MAUNSELL =

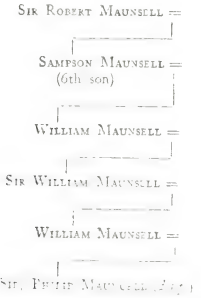
SAMPSON MAUNSELL =
(6th son)

WILLIAM MAUNSELL =

SIR WILLIAM MAUNSELL =

WILLIAM MAUNSELL =

(SIR PHILIP MAUNSELL [illegible])



with, of course, original derivation from Philip Mansel, who was practically contemporary with the Richard of the other pedigree.

There is evidence, in some official records, of the connection of the Gloucester Maunsells with other counties, where, it may be assumed, they possessed some property and influence.

In the year 1313 the custody of the county of Gloucester was entrusted to Sir William Maunsell during the king's pleasure ; and in the same or the following year "William Maunsel de Minchenehampton" (sometimes spelt *Muchalhampton*), is directed to be responsible for the delivery of the sixth and seventh part of a pesage or market, in Southampton.[1] In 1315, however, these imports are ordered to be delivered to Guy de Campo Bello, Earl of Warwick,

[1] [illegible] Ed. III.

and a week later William Maunsel of Muchalhampton is ordered "not to intermeddle further" in the matter.[1]

This William must obviously have had some lands or interests in Hampshire, or he would not have been simultaneously directed to assume the charge of the county of Gloucester during the King's pleasure, and to be responsible for the market imports in a county so far removed from Gloucester. He is evidently identical with Sir William (p. 9 of R. G. Maunsell's book), and was certainly a man of some importance.

The number of William Maunsells figuring in State records about this period is somewhat bewildering; and they are all more or less connected with Gloucestershire.

In 1284-5 William Maunsell holds land in Yrridelond (Iredelond) in the hundred of Burntree (Burnetre) near Bristol, "by knight's service of the bishop, and the bishop of the king."[2]

In the same year John Maunsell, son of William, holds the hamlet of Frompton (Frampton) in the hundred of Bisley, "de eodem," which may be a misprint for "eisdem," or may mean that he held it of the king.[3]

In the year 1303, however, Frampton appears to have changed hands, for it is recorded that William Maunsell holds the quarter part of one knight's fee in Frampton of H. Huse (Hussey?) and R. Lysle.[4]

It is probable that this H. Huse is Henry Hussey, who married Joan, daughter and co-heir of Alard Fleming (*see* le Fleming pedigree), perhaps about this time; he died thirty years later. From this it would appear that, contrary to the assumption of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Frampton was included with Saperton in Alard Fleming's time, and so descended to his two daughters.

John Maunsell, son of William, is somewhat of a mystery; there is no mention of any such person, of this generation, in the

[1] Cal. Close Rolls, 8 Ed. II. (March 1 and 8, 1315).

[2] Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids. Vol. ii., 1284 to 1431; p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 251.

various genealogies. He held Frampton in 1284, and so was a contemporary of William Maunsell, father of Sir William, though whether he was brother or son to the elder William does not appear. It may be assumed that he died without issue some time during the nineteen years which elapsed between the two records, and that Frampton was held by Alard Fleming after his death, and eventually by his daughters Joan and Anne. Gabriel Ogilvy has no John Maunsell who would fit in here.

In the year 1346 William Maunsell holds the quarter part of one knight's fee in Frampton, "as William Maunsell formerly held the same."[1] That is to say, of Sir Henry Hussey, son of Henry, who married Joan Fleming. Sir Henry died two years later.

In this same year, William Maunsell also holds one knight's fee in Upper Lypiate and Tonleye, "which William Maunsell formerly held."[1]

This same William is again recorded, in the same year, as holding, with Philip de Clanevowe, half a knight's fee in Houton, Hereford, which Richard de Aylesford and Master Henry de Grey lately held of the lordship of Webbeleye;[2] which connects the Maunsells of this period with Gloucester, Hereford, and Hampshire.

The connection of the Maunsells with Frampton probably ceased at the death of William, son of Sir William, and that with Over Lypiate at the death of Philip. By the marriage of William's daughter Joanna with William Whittington, the lands, after Philip's death, would pass to the Whittingtons.

It is worthy of notice, in view of Gabriel Ogilvy's insertion of Philip Arbalistarius among the Mansels directly descended from Philip I., that there is one Walter Arbalistarius in Domesday, holding lands in Gloucestershire; in Westbury (Westbere) Hundred, Blideslaw Hundred, and in Langelei Hundred; in the latter he holds *Frantone;* so that it would appear that there are, or were, two Framptons in Gloucester—which may have occasioned the addition of *Mansel* in one instance, for the sake of

[1] Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids. Vol. ii., 1284 to 1431; p. 286.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

distinction. Also it would be interesting to learn whether this Walter was related to Philip Arbalistarius, who, as Gabriel Ogilvy states, assumed the name of Mansel; it appears, however, several times as a surname in official records, being assumed, no doubt, by reason of proficiency in the use of the crossbow.

William Mauncell appears later, in 1428, as holding, or having held, half of a knight's fee in Houton, or Hoton, Herefordshire.[1] This is not likely to be the William alluded to in 1346, and it is not clear whence he comes, unless he is William of Mansellfield, Gower, in Wales, son of Sir Richard of Oxwich and Penrice (*see* R. G. Maunsell's book, p. 18). He was succeeded in the tenure of Houton by John Skydmar, and this tends to confirm the above conjecture, as Philip Mansel of Oxwich married (as will be seen) Mabel, daughter of Griffith ap Nicholas; and Sir John Skydmar, of Hereford, married her sister, Maud. William of Mansellfield was uncle to Philip, who succeeded to the estates of his grandfather, Sir Richard, in 1435, and at one period held Houton; so the assumption that it is this William who is named in the Inquisitions relating to Feudal Aids is quite reasonable.

In the fifth Report of Historical MSS. Commission, among the MSS. of Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., there is a section with the heading "The Abbey of Kingswood, Co. Wilts (Gloucester)." The Abbey was, according to Dugdale, formerly held to be in Gloucestershire, but later in Wiltshire; it is, in fact, located in Gloucester in the first edition of the Monasticon.

Hence it is not surprising to find sundry benefactions bestowed upon the Abbey of lands in Gloucester: and among these there is mention of the name of Maunsell, or Mansell—it is spelt in both ways.

In 1239 appears the following: "Feast of St. Philip and St. James the Apostles (1 May) William grants to Kingswood for 20 years his lands in Culcreton, with the Vileins, etc., in consideration of 40 marks paid by the monks."[2]

About the year 1280—though this is somewhat obscure—

[1] Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids. Vol. ii., 1284 to 1431; p. 411.

[2] Hist. MSS. Com. Report. Pt. v. App., p. 335.

occur five deeds tied together, all of the same tenor, and executed respectively by Henry Bernard of Culcreton, Walter, son of Henry Bernard, Geoffrey Custance of Culcreton, William Mansel, and Elizabeth, who was the wife of William de Gammages; the purport of these deeds being the release to Kingswood of all rights in certain lands upon Littleton, near the way leading to Rodmerton, at the north part of Culcreton, etc.[1]

Among the witnesses to a deed apparently of the same year occur Lords John le Brun, Richard de Cromhale, William le Maunsel, etc., so that Maunsel is here designated "Dominus," which, however, probably means "knight," not "lord"; the same designation recurs in another deed, "Dominus de Maunsel," without any initial.

In common with most deeds of this period, the dates, and even the years, are conspicuous by their absence; but perhaps it is not stretching probabilities unduly to assume that "Dominus" Maunsel is a separate individual from William Maunsel, who made the gift in 1239. The lapse of time is considerable, and they may not unreasonably be placed as father and son.

The places named in the deeds, Culcreton, Littledune (Littledown ?), and Rodmerton are not to be found in modern maps, nor in county histories; Culcreton, however, is probably identical with Culkerton, and Colcortone (Domesday) in Gloucester; and in Inquisitions ad quod Damnum, Henry IV., the Abbey of Kingswood is found to be the holder of the chief part of Cullurton in Gloucester.

These two Maunsells, William and Sir William, fit in with William, son of Sampson (or of William), p. 9 of R. G. Maunsell's book, and his son, Sir William, though Culcreton is not there named in connection with either.

In the Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission there occurs, in 1298, an agreement between Dominus Nicholas de Kingston, knight, and William Maunsel, knight, of mutual accommodation in war and peace.[2] Sir William Maunsell's wife, Mar-

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Report. Pt. v. App., p. 336.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. vii. App., p. 681.

garetta, it will be recollected, was probably aunt to Sir Nicholas Kingston on his mother's side.

Another deed here mentioned records that Sir William Maunsel, knight, has received from John de la Cumbe his homage for all the lands, tenements, and rents which he the said John holds of the honour of St. Valeri, within the Hundred of Gamenefield, "*temp.* Edward III."—rather a wide margin, and consequently not very instructive; but this would probably be the same Sir William, who was certainly living during the earlier part of Edward III.'s reign.

It is interesting to find these several Maunsells connected with Kingswood Abbey, for there was considerable correspondence, etc., between Margam and Kingswood, and it is possible that some earlier Maunsell was also a benefactor of the former.

The Inquisition Post Mortem upon the estate of Philip Maunsell, who died in 1396, shows that he was possessed of a tenement at Pusey, Berks, named Maunsell's Place; of another at Bokeland or Buckland, Berks, named Brittel Place; of lands at Bampton, Oxon; in Redyse a tenement also known as Maunsell's Place; and of the manor of Upper Lypiate in the Hundred of Bisley, Gloucester.

It is strange that Sir Thomas Phillipps should have overlooked this record, and suggested that Philip died a pauper; nor is it creditable to Philip that, with these properties to the fore, he should have failed to pay his debt to his nephew, Richard Whittington. There is, however, some little mystery about this Philip and his doings.

At his death, apparently without heirs—none are named in the Inquisition—his property would pass to the Whittingtons, as before stated, and accordingly we find that Richard Whittington, Mayor of the City of London, in the year following Philip's death (1397), surrenders to James Spersholt and Richard Monemouth all his lands and tenements in Pusey, in the county of Berks, and all his meadow in the county of Oxford. In the same year James Spersholt demises to Walter his manor of Pusey, formerly called Maunsell's Court, "for life and six months beyond."[1]

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Report. Vol. vii. App., p. 681.

In 1498 Alys Delamare, late wife of Bernard Delamare, conveys to John Fettyplace, of Charney, gentleman, the manor of Maunsell's Court in Pusey.

Maunsell's Court, now known as Pusey House, is the present property of the family of Bouverie-Pusey.

There is here a famous horn, said to have been presented to a grantee of the Pusey estate by King Canute: an inscription upon it, apparently of the time of Henry VIII., says it was given by "Kyng Knowd to Wyllyam Pecote."

The story concerning one Philip Maunsell, or Mancel, who was Governor of La Rochelle in 1372, is to be found in Anquitel's "Histoire de France."

Mr. R. G. Maunsell, who styles him *Sir* Philip—erroneously—assumes that this Philip was identical with Philip of Lypiate; Mr. W. W. Mansell also has the story, but places Philip in the main branch of the genealogy, as great-great-grandson of Sir Thomas, son of Sir John, Provost of Beverley.

There is not sufficient evidence to show conclusively whence he came; but that there was one Philip Mancel—he is not styled knight by Anquitel—in command of La Rochelle is apparent; also that he is said to have lost the place in a somewhat tame and discreditable fashion.

La Rochelle had been captured by Louis VIII. in 1224, but was restored to England by the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360. Anquitel's account is as follows:

"A well-contrived *ruse* restored La Rochelle to France. The mayor of the town was a burgher named Jean Condorier; he lived on cordial terms with Philip Mancel, the commandant of the fort for the English—who was not too mischievous [*qui n'était pas trop malicieux:* Anquitel italicises the sentence]. The mayor invited the commandant to an entertainment. During the repast there arrived a pretended messenger from the King of England, bearing a letter for Mancel. They had imitated with great care the seals and other exterior signs so as to impart to this missive the appearance of authenticity. Neither the commandant nor any of his people could read. He examined the seals, found them genuine, and handed the

letter to Condorier to read. The mayor read out an order of the king to the commandant to go outside the fort on the following day, with all the garrison, in order to be reviewed by some officers who would arrive. Accordingly Mancel, in the morning, lowered the drawbridge, and marched his men out. When they were out, Condorier's soldiers, hiding behind a wall, advanced and placed themselves between the English and the fort, others forming in front. The garrison, thus surrounded, were compelled to lay down their arms, and the men of Rochelle, without striking a blow, made themselves master of the fort." (Vol. i., p. 299. Ed. 1835.)

Rather an apocryphal story, and not precisely in agreement with the accounts of more considerable historians concerning the capitulation of La Rochelle, according to whom it was at this time besieged by the French, and yielded, together with Poitiers, after an abortive attempt at relief by a fleet under the Earl of Pembroke. However, it is a "good yarn" from the French historian's point of view, though but little to the credit of Philip Mancel.

Concerning Sir William Maunsell, it is stated in R. G. Maunsell's book (p. 9) that he accompanied King Edward in his expedition to Scotland, and was knighted. In the Appendix Mr. Maunsell says: "For Sir William Maunsell that attended King Edward I. into Scotland, and was knighted by him, see Cole's MSS., vol. 47."

In this volume, which forms part of the collection of MSS. bequeathed to the British Museum by William Cole,[1] at folio 100 there is the following heading to a series of coloured shields of arms, extending over many pages:

"The arms of nobility and gentry in the reign of King Edward I.

"They which be nominated in this book as it doth appear lived in King Edward the First days, and were with him in his wars in Scotland and divers other places."

[1] William Cole (1714-1782) was a well-known antiquary, chiefly interested in Cambridge University and county. He acquired an immense collection of MSS. Before his death he was half minded to leave them to King's College, Cambridge, but concluded that this "would be to throw them into a horsepond;" so he left them, at his death, to the British Museum with directions that they were not to be accessible to the public until twenty years later.

At folio 136 is given the shield of Sir William Maunsell—gules, a fesse argent, a label of three points of the second—so there is thus some ground for the assumption that Sir William accompanied King Edward on this occasion, and perhaps was then knighted for his services; it is certain, at least, from records already quoted, that he was knighted before the year 1298.

This famous expedition against Scotland arose chiefly out of an appeal lodged against John Baliol, King of Scotland, by Macduff, Earl of Fife; or was at least precipitated by it. By reason of Scotland's acknowledgment of the feudal rights of the English king, Macduff claimed to have his plea heard at Westminster, and appears then to have proffered aid for the French war. The Scottish nobles, dissatisfied with his conduct, proceeded, by way of reprisals against Edward for his insistence upon his feudal rights, to open negotiations with Philip of France. Edward thereupon demanded that the border fortresses of Scotland should be placed in his hands until the war with France was concluded. The Scots refused, and in March, 1296, ravaged Cumberland.

Edward, however, was not unprepared, for he had already summoned Baliol and his lords to meet him at Newcastle on March 1, to answer for certain injuries done to his subjects, and had taken the precaution of having a convincingly strong argument with him in the form of a large army. He was joined by the Bishop of Durham with the forces of the north, and on March 28 the English army of 5,000 horse and 30,000 foot crossed the Tweed.

Berwick, refusing to surrender, was quickly subdued; and while Edward remained there a messenger from Baliol arrived with a defiant reply to his summons, and the renunciation of the Scots king's fealty and homage.

"If he will not come to us, we will go to him," was Edward's comment; and he went.

The expedition proved a triumphant and conquering progress. Town after town fell before the English: Edinburgh capitulated on June 6, and on July 10 Edward formally accepted Baliol's surrender at Montrose.

After receiving the submission of the nobles and people at

Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin, Edward returned to Berwick on August 22, bringing with him the famous coronation stone from the Abbey of Scone,[1] having achieved the conquest of Scotland in less than twenty-one weeks.

In this memorable feat of arms Sir William Maunsell appears to have borne a part; it is a stirring family record.

[1] This stone is still used at the coronation of British sovereigns at Westminster.

CHAPTER V

Sir John Maunsell

THERE are few courtiers or statesmen whose names are recorded in history who played a more important part in the councils of the reigning monarch than did John Maunsell in the time of Henry III.

For over thirty years during that long and turbulent reign his name figures in almost every State record; he appears as the king's adviser, as his chosen representative, in the most important and weighty affairs at home, in the most delicate and responsible missions abroad. In the council chamber, on the battlefield, in the domestic government of counties and cities, John Maunsell is always to the fore, occupying towards his sovereign a position similar to that which was held, until his downfall, by Wolsey at the court of Henry VIII.

Nor was John Maunsell probably the inferior of the great Cardinal of Tudor times, although he never attained to such lofty ecclesiastical rank. He might, however, have been an archbishop, had he so chosen; he is credited, as will be seen hereafter, with having declined episcopal honours.

John Maunsell differed also from Cardinal Wolsey in respect of his ultimate relations with his sovereign, for there is here no story to tell of impeachment, deprivation, and disgrace; to the last the councillor of Henry III. retained the king's confidence and esteem, though this fact has been disputed in some quarters. Maunsell has also been charged with undue rapacity in the matter of accumulating benefices, a charge which is not, perhaps, without foundation; the temptation must have been great, and he was not exempt from the inherent defects of human nature. These matters will be duly dealt with in relating the story of his life.

His connection with the court commenced at an early age, as

DOVER CASTLE IN 1642.

North-East Side, showing Avranches Tower, afterwards known as Maunsell Tower.

[*Face page* 108

the king himself bears witness, and during his whole career the many notable events and missions in which he bore a prominent part are clearly set forth in the public records, and are thus as fully authenticated as the date of the Norman Conquest, or other landmarks of history.

It is remarkable, therefore, in view of this fact, that there should be a very wide divergence of testimony in respect of three most important points concerning John Maunsell—to wit, his derivation and birth, his marriage and issue, and the date and circumstances of his death. Such, however, is the case, and it is obvious that, in this present history, it is incumbent upon the writer to unravel these mysteries in so far as this is possible.

It has already been seen, in dealing with the early genealogy of the Maunsell family, that, while insisting in most instances upon John Maunsell's right to a place in the pedigree, involving direct descent from that Philip Mansel whom all are agreed in claiming as their original ancestor, various authorities have differed considerably as to the intermediate genealogical steps, and the number of generations intervening from the time of the Conquest. Some, indeed, have placed themselves entirely out of court by incautiously ignoring the authentic records which establish the period of John Maunsell's active life, and covering a lapse of somewhat more than one hundred and fifty years by two or three generations; while others have erred in a lesser degree, involving, however, very great improbability.

Again, there are those, including members of the Maunsell family, who, while they cannot but admit the existence of John Maunsell, deny him any place whatever in their genealogy; accepting, apparently, the views of Gabriel Ogilvy and others, that his derivation is doubtful; or that of Matthew Paris, that he was the son of a country priest.

In striking contrast with this general uncertainty concerning the antecedents of John Maunsell is the confidence with which various writers put forward their individual opinions on the subject.

Mr. R. G. Maunsell, as has been seen, places him, without the least attempt at adequate proof, without giving any reference

whatsoever, as the son of Walter Maunsell, of Little Missenden; gives him half a dozen brothers, a couple of sisters, and six sons.

Mr. W. W. Mansell, with equal confidence, states that he was the *only* son of Sir Robert Maunsell the Crusader, and that he had only three sons.

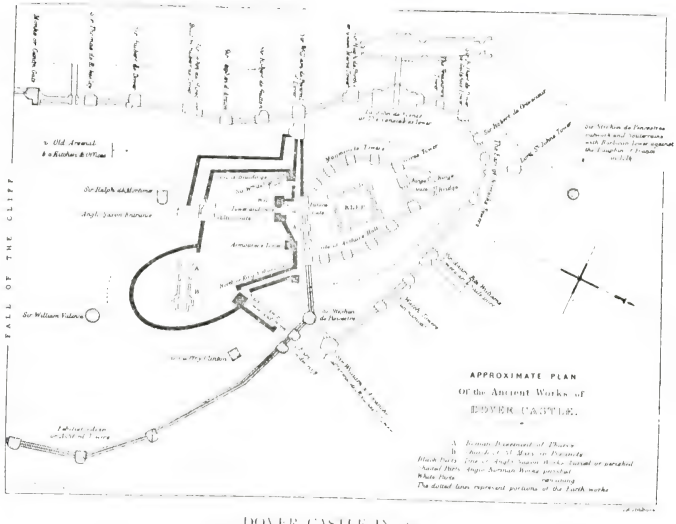
The writer in the Dictionary of National Biography says roundly that he was "the son of a country priest, which probably explains the allegation that he was of illegitimate birth." For these statements he relies upon Matthew Paris (vol. v., p. 129), and "Placita de quo Warranto," p. 749. This absolute acceptance of the dictum of Matthew Paris, or, rather, of the Abbot of St. Albans, in a dispute or claim described by Paris, supplies an instance of that illogical but too common assumption that any document of even moderate antiquity is, *ipso facto*, of unimpeachable veracity.

The Abbot of St. Albans, about the year 1250, complained that the Abbot of Westminster had been, in certain matters, favoured by the king to his detriment; and he ascribes the license permitted to Sir Geoffrey Childewic, which he alleges is a trespass upon the rights of the Abbey, to the influence of John Maunsell, clerk to the king, whose sister had married Sir Geoffrey, exerted at the instigation of this said sister, continuing:

"This lady's name was Clarissa; she was the daughter of a country priest, and was still childless, but exalted herself in her pride above her station, to the derision of all; and her husband was believed to have been infatuated by her suggestions."

Now, there had been, about ten years previously, a very bitter quarrel between the Abbot of St. Albans and certain knights and gentlemen of the vicinity, by reason of their alleged trespass upon the lands of the Abbey for the purposes of sport. Sir Geoffrey was one of those involved; and although the Abbot had the best of it upon that occasion, the sportsmen having been fined forty marks all round, it is not surprising that some bitterness remained against Sir Geoffrey, who appears to have been a truculent and unpleasant individual, and, as the Abbot alleges, "not of knightly birth"; so the Abbot let his tongue loose with some of the current gossip about the lady.

The gossip, as is most frequently the case, was not devoid of



DOVER CASTLE IN 1642

Plan, showing position of Arrancher or Mannsell Tower

foundation; but there is a good deal in the manner in which a statement is made, and the expression "son of a country priest" does not convey a flattering impression, nor is there absent from such speech the implication of bastardy. A priest could not marry; if he chose to do so in defiance of canonical law, his children would be illegitimate.

Of the parentage of John Maunsell there is some evidence in a letter addressed to him by Pope Alexander IV., in February, 1259, a *précis* of which is given in Papal Letters, vol. i., p. 362:

"Approbation, addressed to John Mansel, Chancellor of London, the King's Clerk, of the dispensation given to him, at the King's request, by Pope Innocent, to be ordained and promoted, notwithstanding that his mother married his father, a man of noble birth, not knowing that he was a deacon, and was accounted for the time being his lawful wife; his father, after some time, repenting, resumed his orders, a divorce having been declared by their diocesan. The dispensation is approved, even if his mother's plea of ignorance and the reputation of a lawful marriage cannot be sustained."

This does not convey precisely the same impression as "a country priest." John Maunsell's father, we learn from this document, was a man of noble birth, in deacon's orders, which involved disability to marry. Disregarding this ordinance, he did marry, his wife being in ignorance of the fact that he was in minor orders. Apparently she was regarded locally as his lawful wife, her husband keeping secret the fact of his deaconship. Later, however, his conscience would not permit him to continue living in sin, and he became reconciled to the Church, the bishop of the diocese declaring a divorce, or, more properly, nullity of marriage.

This is a painful story, and, as is usually the case, the woman suffered most severely; for, in spite of her plea of ignorance as to her husband's orders, and the local reputation of a regular marriage, the very fact of the husband's return to his ecclesiastical status would bring forward prominently the unhappy circumstances of the marriage, which would be held by the world at large to be irregular, and the issue illegitimate. Indeed, it would not be possible to hold any other view; had the marriage been regular, the bishop could

not have annulled it after the parties had lived together—so the world would have put it.

Here, then, is the explanation of the attitude of the Abbot of St. Albans and others with regard to John Maunsell's antecedents; they put it in a light as unfavourable as possible, carefully omitting all reference to the fact of Maunsell's father having been of noble family, and of his wife's alleged ignorance of his ecclesiastical disability to marry. From the concluding words of the Pope's letter it would appear that the fact of John Maunsell's bastardy is not held as absolutely substantiated; the dispensation protects him conditionally from the consequences, among which was included his disability for ordination as a priest.

As the dispensation was originally granted by Pope Innocent IV., Alexander's predecessor, this must have occurred somewhere between 1243 and 1254, the limiting years of Innocent's pontificate; but there is no mention of this in preceding papal letters, or in Rymer's "Foedera."

There is somewhat of a discrepancy to be accounted for here: the delay in obtaining Pope Alexander's ratification of the dispensation appears to be excessive. Possibly it may have been applied for in consequence of the malicious revival of the gossip about Maunsell's birth; he had, no doubt, many enemies, who would have been ready enough to discredit him, and the renewal of the Pope's protection would be of no little value.

There are several John Maunsells to the fore about this time, and the question of identity naturally presents itself.

Master John Maunsell, king's clerk, was joint guardian, with Adam le Hilton, of the Archbishopric of York, in the year 1258; in the following year he was inducted to the prebend of Fenton, Yorks, after some trouble with the dean and chapter, the king eventually directing the Sheriff to see that his wishes were carried out. There was further trouble about this prebend's stall, for it is stated that Richard de Gorono, king's clerk, represented the king at Rome "against Stephen, nephew of the bishop of Palestrina, having or even suing for the prebend of Fenton, which the king has bestowed upon Master John Maunsell, king's clerk." Apparently Master

John Maunsell, or possibly his influential relative, gave way rather than have any further contention over the business; for the Patent is endorsed as follows: "*Vacated because John Mansel tore it up.*"

In the year 1263 John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, is sending Wm. le Breton to divers parts of England and the march of Wales on the affairs of Master John Maunsell, his kinsman.

Master John Maunsell was also guardian, in 1260, of the bishopric of Durham, void by the death of the late bishop, and constable of the Castle of Durham. He held these desirable offices for five or six months, and was very loth to yield up his tenure of them, the king administering a sharp rebuke with his second peremptory order to quit.

John Maunsell *the younger* is likewise mentioned as receiving the prebend of Yatesbury, as holding house property in London, and as dead in 1265; also, in 1262, as receiving protection to go beyond seas with John Maunsell.

In the year 1259 protection is granted for John Maunsell, nephew of John Maunsell; and lastly, in the year 1264, "in pursuance of the late provision for the protection of Clerks willing to reside at their benefices in England, for Master John Maunsell the elder, his men, goods, and possessions, as he purposes to reside at his benefices in England." [1]

As to the identity and mutual relationship of these various John Maunsells, it is by no means easy to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion; one of them is, indeed, officially placed as nephew to Sir John; "the younger" may be his son, but there is no proof of this; "Master John" is quite vague; and "John the Elder" almost equally so, though he is assumed by some writers to be identical with Sir John—not quite justifiably, perhaps. This will be discussed later.

There is here displayed an array of official statements which cannot be questioned, but which do not prove much, beyond the fact of the existence of certain persons named John Maunsell at certain

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls. Henry III., 1258-1266; pp. 6, 43, 55, 90, 113, 139, 222, 251, 279, 281.

dates; they do not warrant the utterance of any categorical assertion concerning the genealogical point in question.

It is necessary, however, before proceeding further in the elucidation of the problem of John Maunsell's parentage, to consider carefully the statements so confidently set forth elsewhere, and supported, in some instances, by definite references, which affect to settle the whole matter in a few sentences.

Mr. W. W. Mansell (p. 23) tells us that "John Mansell received a liberal education, and at an early age was considered a superior scholar, and a proficient in all the necessary qualifications of a great man. It is most probable that he was brought up in Scotland, perhaps Glasgow, where his great-uncle had been bishop, as the first public mention of John is his being sent to the King of England, on his coming to the throne, as an orator from Alexander, King of Scotland."

It is true that, among the members of a deputation, whom Rymer describes as orators, from Alexander to the King of England, there is included one John *Maunswell [sic]*.[1] Here, however, we encounter once more the exceedingly slipshod methods of this writer, which so constantly discount his statements and references. He is apparently quite oblivious of the fact that his assertion that this deputation was "sent to the King of England, on his coming to the throne," is traversed by the very reference which he gives in support of it, "Foedera Pat. 17 John." King Alexander's deputation was despatched, as a matter of fact, in the year 1215, before the accession of Henry III., to the court of King John, and the purpose with which it was sent was that of discussing with John and his councillors certain affairs of state. Moreover, the term "orators," which Mr. Mansell utilises in proof of John Maunsell's high attainments, is merely the somewhat pedantic expression adopted by Rymer in the heading with which he prefaces the official statement, "King Alexander of Scotland sends his orators to the court of King John of England."

The inference that a man who was selected to take part in such

[1] "Foedera." Vol. i., p. 135.

weighty affairs was possessed of high educational and other qualifications is, however, very palpable; nor is it at all improbable, on the face of it, that this John Maunswell, or Maunsell, should be identical with Henry III.'s great councillor and right-hand man; that he was favourably regarded at the English court, and either remained in England, or returned thither subsequently, at the instigation of the new king's advisers, or on his own initiative.

There is, however, an inherent objection to this hypothesis, which Mr. Mansell has ignored, though he supplies himself the evidence which discredits the assumption, in referring later on (p. 38), to a letter which King Henry wrote to the Roman Curia in the year 1262.

In this letter, which was written with the purpose of vindicating the character of John Maunsell, who had been accused of stirring up strife between Henry and the barons, the king uses the following expressions: "Sub alis nostris educatus cujus ingenium mores et merita ab adolescentia sua probavimus," etc.

Now, it may be assumed that a man who was included among the members of a deputation from one monarch to another, upon affairs of state, would not be less than, say, five-and-twenty years of age; the probability is, indeed, that he would be considerably older than this, but it is, at any rate, a tolerably safe hypothesis that the John Maunswell of Alexander's court would not be younger. That is to say, that this John Maunsell was five-and-twenty years of age in 1215.

Henry III., who came to the throne as a child of ten, would then be only nine years of age; and it appears almost fantastically improbable that he should, in after years, allude to a man who was some fifteen years his senior as having been brought up under his protection—literally, "under our wings" from his youth.

Some allowance may be made for the perspective of years, which tends to obscure such difference in age, or for looseness of verbiage on the part of Henry: but when all has been said, it must be conceded that the identification of this John Maunswell with Henry's great councillor presents difficulties which cannot be readily

surmounted, and which certainly cannot be reasonably ignored by an historian or biographer.

Mr. Mansell's other glib statements, as to John Maunsell's liberal education, his recognition at an early age as a superior scholar, and so forth, must be accepted for what they are worth; as inferences, they possess a certain foundation, and that is all that can be said for them. The writer's hypothesis that Maunsell may probably have been brought up in Glasgow, "where his great-uncle had been bishop," is severely discounted by the fact, already alluded to in these pages, that Herbert, Abbot of Kelso, and subsequently Bishop of Glasgow, was never designated by other than his Christian name, and that there is not the smallest ground for Mr. Mansell's assumption that his surname was Maunsell; indeed, his own witnesses discredit it.[1]

This writer raises one other point which is of interest, as bearing upon the papal letter. Referring to John Maunsell, he says (p. 23): "It does not appear when he took Holy Orders, but in the year 1238 we find he was sent by the King to Frederick II., Emperor of the West, who had married Isabel, the King's sister, with a large military force, in company with Henry de Turbeville and William Hardel, and is therein styled 'Clerk.'"

Matthew Paris is cited as the authority for this statement, but it is not clear that the original Latin will bear the interpretation here placed upon it. Paris states that the king despatched a military expedition, "Sub ducatu Henrici de Trubleville, viri in re militari peritissimi. Cum quo etiam misit Johannem Mansel et Willelmum Hardel clericum et civem Londoniensem." This may read that William Hardel was a clerk and a citizen of London, or that Mansel was a clerk and Hardel a citizen. This latter reading, however, involves a clumsy and unusual construction of the sentence, which, though plausible on the surface, is not in keeping with the customary correctness of diction employed by Paris; and it is most improbable that he intended the term "clericum" to apply to Mansel.

W. W. Mansell assumes, however, that it is so applied, and,

[1] See *ante*, p. 48.

by implication, that it signifies that Maunsell was then in "Holy Orders," *i.e.*, a priest; this latter deduction is in itself unwarrantable, as will be presently demonstrated.

Even admitting, however, that the writer is justified in his interpretation of Paris, he is at once in conflict with the papal dispensation to Maunsell; for, if the latter was already a priest in the year 1238, five years before Innocent IV. became pope, there would obviously be no occasion for such dispensation for "ordination and promotion," bestowed by Innocent some time in 1243, or later, and confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. in 1259. If, on the other hand, the term "clericus" is held to apply only to William Hardel, the hypothesis, already enunciated, that Maunsell was ordained priest after the accession of Innocent IV. remains feasible; and it is more compatible with other facts than the theory of Maunsell's earlier ordination.

Turning to the other family genealogist and biographer, Mr. R. G. Maunsell, we are again confronted with a series of positive assertions, which the writer does not attempt, in most instances, to establish by any sort of evidence; he is, however, entitled to more consideration than his brother biographer, in that his genealogical deductions are, as a rule, far more sound and feasible, while the authorities which he has failed to supply for many of his statements have, at considerable pains, been unearthed and found satisfactory. It must, however, be strongly reiterated that evidence as to the relationships between various persons who are mentioned in official and other documents in the early genealogical stages is of the most meagre description, and, in most instances, is entirely absent. This deficiency is, on the face of it, almost inevitable, and the attempt to supply it by means of plausible assumptions involves, as has already been demonstrated, the risk of serious discrepancies.

Mr. R. G. Maunsell, as will be seen, has not escaped this pitfall with regard to the parentage of John Maunsell.

He places the great chancellor as the eldest son of Walter Maunsell, who was eldest son of Sir Robert, the hero of the crusading incident alluded to by William, Archbishop of Tyre, in his "Historia Sacri Belli."

Mr. Maunsell's genealogy, as has already been demonstrated, makes a considerable demand upon probabilities in the matter of fitting in his generations, more especially with reference to this Walter and his son John; it is, indeed, very difficult to identify them with those alluded to in Gervaise Paganel's charter, without involving an anachronism.

This point has, however, been fully discussed in a previous chapter,[1] and it does not appear possible at the moment to cast any further light upon the question. There may have been two Walters and two Johns; the tentative acceptance of R. G. Maunsell's genealogy leaves the road clear for the further consideration of the parentage of John Maunsell.

According to Mr. R. G. Maunsell, John Maunsell had five brothers—Philip, Henry, Peter, Robert, and Michael—and two sisters, one of whom married Sir Geoffrey de Childewick, of county Hertford.

Now, the evidence of this marriage is contained in the statement of the Abbot of St. Albans, as quoted by Matthew Paris, and cited on a previous page in this chapter, and is thus accepted by R. G. Maunsell; but he entirely ignores the abbot's further statement that this Clarissa Maunsell, who married Sir Geoffrey de Childewick, and her brother John, the king's chancellor, were the offspring of a country priest. Apparently he was so completely satisfied with his own more or less assumptive genealogy that he considered it justifiable to accept as evidence one portion of the statement and to ignore the other.

This is not a sound method of dealing with an intricate genealogical problem; even granting that the writer was in possession of conclusive evidence in support of his own contention, such a statement, appearing in the annals of so doughty a chronicler as Matthew Paris, should not have been permitted to pass unchallenged. The omission constitutes an injustice alike to the author and to the subject of his memoir; and it also affords an illustration of the inevitable dangers which await a writer who enters upon a difficult genealogical task without attempting to cite his authorities.

[1] See *ante*, p. 67 *et seq.*

Matthew Paris, who was an inmate of St. Albans Abbey, and consequently in sympathy with the abbot, may, with some show of reason, be charged with a certain partiality; he would assuredly not be kindly disposed towards Sir Geoffrey Childewick and his wife, and would perhaps derive some satisfaction from thus recording the abbot's unflattering assertion; but this assumption does not discount the statement in a degree sufficient to justify the omission of all reference to it. However resolved Mr. Maunsell may have been to dispense with the exhibition of his authorities, he should certainly, in this instance, have made an exception.

However, he elected not to do so, and he also, apparently, determined to ignore the papal letter which affords the only possible justification of the abbot's statement. He was, as has already been noted, a very thorough and diligent searcher among records, and it is not easy to believe that he omitted, in his investigations, to consult the volumes of papal letters which are so readily accessible in the reading-room at the British Museum. If he did omit to do so, his abstention was remarkable, and even inexcusable, as he must have been indebted for some of his data to Rymer's "Foedera," in which there is abundant evidence of papal correspondence concerning John Maunsell. If, on the other hand, he did refer to the papal letters, his absolute silence with regard to that one which has such an important bearing upon Maunsell's antecedents is only compatible with a certain lack of sincerity of which one would not have suspected him.

Other authorities, or *quasi*-authorities, concerning the Maunsell genealogy have already been discussed in a previous chapter; their views upon the subject of John Maunsell's place in the family pedigree are divergent, and certainly not enlightening, and so may be dismissed without further comment.

This review of the *pros* and *cons* concerning the legitimate birth and parentage of John Maunsell certainly militates, so far, against the probability of his regular derivation, and his right to the position which has been accorded him by the biographers whose deductions or opinions have now been analysed; but it must not be therefore assumed that the last word has been said about the matter.

The expression, "son of a country priest," so readily adopted in the Dict. Nat. Biog. and elsewhere, is by no means necessarily accurate or justifiable. It distinctly conveys the impression of more or less sordid and discreditable circumstances attendant upon Maunsell's birth, which are not to be easily reconciled with his early rise to distinction, involving the possession of high attainments as a scholar and statesman. The stigma of discreditable origin and illegitimacy would, at the very outset, have proved a formidable impediment; such disabilities have in all ages been accorded, in the eyes of society at large, a weight and importance to which they are not intrinsically entitled—save in those instances in which the irregularity has been the outcome of royal or ducal amours; and the less said about these, perhaps, the better.

Here, however, there is no such allegation; "the son of a country priest"—a cleric who had wrought discredit upon his calling by a *liaison* with some damsel in his parish, or, at the best, had contracted, in defiance of canon law, a marriage which was no marriage at all. It would be difficult to imagine a more drastic and disabling disqualification for the *entrée* at court, and, *a fortiori*, such intimacy with the young king; nor does it appear in the least degree probable that a lad thus born should have received educational and other advantages which would have qualified him for such distinction. In those days, education, in the narrowest sense of the word, was for the few, and learning, in any true sense, necessarily yet more rare.

Moreover, the discrediting phrase is, on the face of it, academically inaccurate. The papal letter admits of no such derogatory and semi-contemptuous interpretation, and the pope must be credited with having satisfied himself of the truth of Maunsell's representation, backed by the king's letter, before he acted.

According to this authentic document, Maunsell's father was not "a country priest," but a man in deacon's orders, not yet ordained priest, but debarred, nevertheless, from marriage by reason of the bestowal of the highest of the "minor" orders, priesthood being the next step.

Moreover, he is described as "a man of noble birth," which

would not necessarily signify, from the Italian point of view, a man of title, but one of ancient and honourable lineage; such as would, indeed, probably have assumed some minor title in Italy, the equivalent, however, of "knight" or "esquire" in England. Nor can there be any doubt that he bore, and passed on to his son, the surname of Maunsell.

It has already been pointed out that Pope Alexander, at the conclusion of his letter to John Maunsell, and consistently with the story set forth in the body of it, permits the question of bastardy to remain open, implying that his mother's genuine ignorance of the trespass and the fact of the pair being held in repute as husband and wife, probably for years, might be held to have regularised the birth of their children. It was a kindly and generous view to assume, and the present biographer of John Maunsell can scarcely be blamed if he elects to range himself on the side of the Holy Father, rather than on that of Matthew Paris and the Abbot of St. Albans; nor is this attitude to be attributed solely to magnanimity, which, however admirable in itself, is a questionable element in the compilation of a family history.

The writer in the Dict. Nat. Biog., in alluding to the possible fact of John Maunsell's illegitimacy, refers to Placita de quo Warranto, p. 749. The plea here recorded is set forth on behalf of King Edward I., in the seventh year of his reign (1279), by his attorney, William de Gyselham, against the Prior of Tortington, in Sussex, who maintained that certain lands had been granted to him by John Maunsell; the king's attorney, on the other hand, said that Maunsell had held these lands of Wepeham Manor of the king, and that at Maunsell's death they should have reverted to the king, "because the said John Maunsell was a bastard and died without an heir of his body." The prior argued that John Maunsell, having presented him with these lands before he went abroad, did not possess them at the time of his death. The jury found against the king and for the prior, and did not allude in their verdict to the question of John Maunsell's bastardy. It is singular that this suit should have been brought so long after John Maunsell's death; the impression conveyed is that William de Gyselham, the king's attorney,

raked up the old story about John Maunsell in order to acquire credit in the eyes of the king, and some material reward for himself. The point is, that the story about Maunsell's birth fell flat.

It may be reasonably held as an established fact that John Maunsell was the son of one Maunsell, of ancient family, and that his birth, in spite of the irregularity of his parents' marriage, was not condemned in high quarters as disabling to his advancement.

Who was his father? The marriage must have taken place at the end of the twelfth century, about one hundred and thirty years after the Norman Conquest. The Maunsells, or Mansels, who were descended from Philip Mansel had not been established in England for more than about four or five generations, and there is no record of any families bearing the name having previously existed there; indeed, it is as certain as anything can be, after so great a lapse of time, that the name and family came from France or Normandy at the time of the Conquest. It is easy to talk glibly about a "country priest" bearing this name; but the number of men who are eligible to be placed as John Maunsell's father is decidedly limited, and they can only logically be sought, moreover, among the descendants of Philip Mansel. Gabriel Ogilvy's Geoffrey and Richard cannot be regarded as other than conjectural, and perhaps even as apocryphal persons. There are, however, two persons in Ogilvy's document whose existence at the end of the twelfth century is vouched for in official records, and who are not to be found in other genealogies—to wit, John Mansel and Thomas Mansel, both descended from Philip Mansel, through his son Henry, here represented as the eldest. The relationship between this Thomas and John is not clearly set forth; Ogilvy is incorrigibly vague in this respect; but the inference from their relative places in the genealogy is that Thomas was the son of John, who was the son of Henry. Thomas Mansel, according to Rotuli Curiæ Regis (p. 264), was alive between 1194 and 1199, and is therefore eligible for consideration as the father of Sir John Maunsell; at the cost, however, of some little stretching of the generations. Nothing appears to be known of this Thomas, beyond the bare fact of his existence at the period stated; the hypothesis that he was the deacon "of noble birth" who was father

to John Maunsell would be quite a reasonable one, but it is impossible to get beyond the region of conjecture in the matter; and the adoption of this view would, of course, involve the reconstruction of the genealogy, in conflict with that of R. G. Maunsell, which, with regard, at least, to the first three generations, is tolerably well established, or is entitled, at any rate, to more credence than that of Ogilvy.

The uncompromising fact remains, however, as testified by the papal letter, that the father of John Maunsell, Chancellor of London, was in deacon's orders, and contracted an irregular marriage, by which he had issue, probably, besides John; that he repented later, returning, by inference, to the celibate life. There is, however, nothing to show that he was ultimately ordained priest, and it is, indeed, more probable that, under the circumstances, he was held not to be eligible for such advancement, though the pope subsequently condoned his trespass. Nor is there any evidence available as to the period during which he and the woman whom he married lived together in "the reputation of a lawful marriage." The inference is, however, that it was considerable, probably a good many years; for the fact of long cohabitation, under honourable conditions, in the sight of the world, while it would perhaps aggravate the man's recalcitrancy in ecclesiastical eyes, would also constitute strong ground for the absolution of his offspring from the taint of bastardy. This is a perfectly legitimate hypothesis, in view of the sense of the final clause of the pope's letter, which obviously implies that the facts of the wife's ignorance, and the reputation of a lawful marriage, could they be sustained, would constitute adequate ground for such leniency.

The question therefore presents itself, whether these established facts, combined with what must be admitted as perfectly reasonable hypotheses, can be reconciled with the acceptance of Walter Maunsell, son of Sir Robert the Crusader, as the father of Sir John Maunsell?

Of Walter Maunsell's life nothing is known; official records prove that he held certain offices and lands, and it is tolerably certain that he married Hawisia, daughter of John de Somerie: it is also

probable that he married, as was the almost invariable practice in those days, at an early age, but not necessarily before he was qualified to receive deacon's orders. He died about 1250, or earlier, as his widow held certain of his lands in dower in 1251. His death might, indeed, have occurred considerably earlier than this, as the allusion to the widow's dower might occur in reference to dues or fines long after his death.

R. G. Maunsell credits Walter with eight children; but though reference is to be found in State records to Maunsells bearing the Christian names set forth by him, their parentage must remain, after all, matter more or less of conjecture; it is not possible to determine relationships at such an early period, save where a possible lawsuit or other matter reveals them.

Of the environment in which Walter Maunsell dwelt, of his friendships, his mode of life, his character, his achievements, social or political—of all these matters we are, and must remain, in total ignorance.

It cannot be said, therefore, that there are any circumstances apparent which would render his acceptance as the father of John Maunsell incompatible with the facts and assumptions above noted; nor, on the other hand, is there any direct evidence in favour of the hypothesis, beyond the fact that John Maunsell's father must have been descended from the Mansel who came from France or Normandy, and that the number of individuals who are available for the position is necessarily limited. Furthermore, it is in evidence that one Walter Maunsell had a son named John; and though there are chronological difficulties, already discussed, which would appear to cast doubt upon the generations in which they should be placed, these are not of such a nature as to be prohibitive of the assumption under consideration. As a prominent historical character, John Maunsell has, if possible, to be accounted for, and this end is more likely to be achieved by some such exhaustive reasoning as has here been attempted, than in the blind acceptance of the more or less spiteful recounting by hostile chroniclers of an unfortunate episode in his father's life.

It may possibly be objected that Maunsell's representation to

the pope, probably about the year 1243, must have been made during his father's lifetime, and that such a course would be improbable at that time. The difficulty may be admitted, but it is not of sufficient cogency to be insuperable. The year of Walter's death is not known; possibly it occurred just about this time, his son deferring his application until it had taken place—a most natural course to pursue; or the application to the pope may have been made later.

It is very unsatisfactory that the antecedents of so important a member of the Maunsell family—for as such Sir John must undoubtedly be reckoned, whatever his immediate derivation—should thus remain as matter of conjecture; but, after all, these early genealogical records are almost entirely in the same category: the pedigree is, and must remain to a great extent, tentative *malgré* the positive assertions of some chroniclers; and this assumption with regard to John Maunsell's parentage is certainly not less reasonable than some other genealogical steps which are accepted in the family and elsewhere as facts.

Failing more precise details, therefore, it appears to be justifiable to retain John Maunsell in the position already assigned to him by R. G. Maunsell, and tentatively adopted in these pages.

Concerning the marriage or marriages of John Maunsell there is, again, a very considerable divergence of opinion. He is credited altogether with three wives, but the case of one of these will be more conveniently considered in connection with his death; it is only alleged by one of his biographers, and the marriage is chiefly utilised in support of certain contentions regarding the year in which Maunsell died.

The Dict. Nat. Biog. dissents from most other authorities in maintaining that Maunsell, being a cleric, was most probably never married, and that the marriage and issue elsewhere assigned to him appertain in reality to some other John Maunsell, with whom he has been confused. The writer of this biographical article displays, however, a certain tendency to accept too readily detached and superficial items of evidence without due investigation; and even appears, in at least one instance, to be noticed later, to have

misapplied the facts as set forth in an official record. His hypothesis must therefore be held as doubtful, though the suggestion is, on the surface, sufficiently reasonable, and will be fully considered in due course.

There was some controversy a few years ago in "Notes and Queries" concerning the Maunsell family, started by "Miles," continued by Alfred C. Jonas, and wound up by a contribution from D. W. P. Maunsell. The last-named writer, who is a son of Robert George Maunsell, traverses very freely the allegations of Mr. Jonas and other writers, and introduces some novel features, including the hypothesis of Saxon origin in the case of some of the Mansels. At the end of the article he writes: "It is hardly necessary to say that John was not 'Lord Chief Justice,' nor was he ever married, nor did he leave any heirs of any kind." [1]

It is true that John Maunsell was not Lord Chief Justice, though the title has been freely bestowed upon him in various quarters; but the assertion that he was never married cannot be so readily accepted. As to his having left no heirs, there will be something to say about this later on. He certainly made a will, the executors of which are named in an official document; and it is probable that one manor, at least, passed at his death to another John Maunsell.

In Harley MSS., No. 2218, "Pedigrees of Yorkshire and Durham Families," it is stated that Sir John Maunsell married, first, the daughter and heir of Sir Philip Long, and secondly Joan, daughter of Simon, sixth Lord Beauchamp, who afterwards became a nun.

In Harley MSS., No. 6831, "Pedigrees of Welsh and English Families," by Hugh Thomas, it is stated: "He married (according to Vincent) the daughter and heir of Sir Philip Long, Knt., by whom he had issue three sons, Thomas, Henry, and William." There is here no mention of the marriage with Joan, daughter of Simon Beauchamp.

Mr. W. W. Mansell states, with his customary confidence,

[1] "Notes and Queries." Feb., 1911; p. 151.

that: "He had scarcely emerged from the state of boyhood, when he married Seraphina, daughter of Sir Philip Long, Knt., by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Henry, and William, as will appear hereafter. His wife expired soon after the birth of the youngest child, and John married, secondly, Joan, daughter and heiress of Simon de Beauchamp, 6th Baron of Bedford, by whom he had no issue. She became a nun, probably during her husband's absence on the continent on military or diplomatic affairs, and died shortly afterwards" (p. 23).

Mr. R. G. Maunsell ignores the alleged marriage with Sir Philip Long's daughter, and states that: "He married Joan, only daughter and heir of Simon Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford, Hereditary Almoner to the king . . . and granddaughter of William Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford," etc.

The marriage with Joan finds favour in most quarters, and it will be recollected that in Harley MSS., No. 819 (formerly 62. c. 14) there is a pedigree given of Maunsell and Beauchamp, in which it is stated that Joan was *first* a nun, and afterwards married Sir John Maunsell.[1] This is extremely improbable, but it is not material.

There appears to be some confusion concerning Joan and her forebears. W. W. Mansell apparently adopts the view expressed in No. 2218, Harley MS., that her father was sixth Baron of Bedford; R. G. Maunsell names him simply Baron of Bedford, and states that his wife was Isabella, "daughter of Hug Wake, Lord of Chesterfield, and sister of Baldwin, Lord Wake (who was also married to Simon's sister, Ella)" (p. 11).

In Sir Harris Nicolas' "Historic Peerage of England" (Courthope), there is a Simon de Beauchamp as second, fourth, and seventh Baron of Bedford ("by tenure"); and Baldwin Lord Wake is said to have married Eleanor, daughter of the seventh baron, who died "before 1363"—a very long while before, certainly, if he was the father of John Maunsell's wife—and the sixth baron is here named as Henry.[2]

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[1] See *ante*, p. 44.

[2] Page 47.

In the "Complete Peerage" of G. E. C. there is no record of any continuous Barony of Bedford; the only allusion to any such title is to the effect that King Stephen, in creating Hugh de Beaumont Earl of Bedford, in 1138, "put him in possession of the castle and Barony of Bedford, ejecting therefrom the sons of Robert Beauchamp, whose cousin, the dau. and heir of Sir Simon Beauchamp, had been granted in marriage to the said Hugh." [1]

The chronology is altogether at variance with Courthope and Nicholas, and it may be assumed that so careful a chronicler as "G. E. C." would scarcely have ruled out a whole succession of barons of Bedford without sufficient ground.

This discrepancy, however, still leaves the fact of John Maunsell's marriage with one Joan as a possibility, or rather as a probability, in view of its acceptance by sundry independent writers. To assume that the story of such a marriage has been gratuitously invented would be a clumsy and futile proceeding; and if there was one John Maunsell married to one Joan Beauchamp, what ground is there for a stout and categorical denial that the Chancellor was the John involved?

The phrase, used by D. W. P. Maunsell in "Notes and Queries," "It is hardly necessary to add that John was never married," as though it were a well-established fact, patent to everyone, is absolutely unjustifiable. He states further that "John the Provost was the son of a deacon by an irregular marriage with Amabel"—and quotes the Papal Letter and the Calendar of Charter Rolls, December 5, 1268, in support of the statement. The pope's letter has already been dealt with, and is, of course, perfectly clear and incontrovertible. The Charter Roll, however, is susceptible of more than one interpretation, and it is by no means clear that the John Maunsell herein mentioned is identical with the Provost of Beverley. It will be best to transcribe it *verbatim:*

"Whereas Felicia de Millers, a Norman, formerly gave to John Maunsell, clerk, a member of the king's household (*familiari nostro*), the manor of Preston, Co. Sussex, to be held by the said

[1] "Complete Peerage." Vol. ii., p. 69.

John, his heirs and assigns, of the said Felicia, and her heirs, which gift the king confirmed by his charter; and whereas the said John in the king's court before Master Simon de Wanthou and his fellows, justices, at Westminster, demised the said manor to Amabel Maunsell, his mother, by a fine there made, to be held by her for her life, remainder to the said John, if he survive, for his life, remainder to Emma wife of Alard le Fleming, sister of the said John, to be held by the said Emma, and her heirs, of the chief lords of the fee by the service due therefrom; whereby on the death of the said Amabel the said John entered the said manor and held it, until Simon, son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, took possession of the same during the late disturbance in the kingdom; and whereas after the Battle of Evesham the king by judgment of his court caused the said manor to be restored to the said Emma pursuant to the said fine; Grant, for the good service of the said John rendered during his lifetime, to the said Emma that," etc.

Concludes that the manor is to be secured to Emma in spite of any flaw in the fine, and so forth.

There are several points to be noticed concerning this document.

In the first place, there are two or three John Maunsells mentioned in sundry documents as "king's clerk." It was a post involving secretarial work, held by certain clerics, or clerks, who were by no means necessarily in "orders," and the title or office would constitute each one a member of the king's household; therefore it is somewhat rash to assume hastily that the John here mentioned was the Provost of Beverley. Indeed, it is, on the face of it, more than probable that he was not, for Sir John Maunsell, after he became a person of importance, holding sundry high offices, was invariably, both during his lifetime and after his death, alluded to by the title of his office—"Provost of Beverley," "Treasurer of York," or "Chancellor of St. Paul's," with, after his death, the prefix of "late" before the title. There does not appear to be any good reason for the omission of this distinction in the document under consideration; it would constitute a solitary exception.

Again, it is here stated that this John Maunsell's sister, Emma, married Alard le Fleming, and subsequently, as her second husband, Henry de Legh (or de Lay).

Now we have it upon the authority of the pedigree given in Bigland's Gloucestershire (under Saperton, No. 226), and transcribed in the chapter upon the Gloucester Maunsells, which has received the *imprimatur* of no less an authority than Sir Thomas Phillipps, that this Alard le Fleming was great-great-grandson of Alard Flandricus (or le Fleming), and that Henry, son of Flandricus, held certain lands in the year 1226. This would make Henry, the grandfather of Alard the second, a contemporary, or of the same generation as John Maunsell the provost, though probably somewhat older, and consequently also of the same generation as Emma, John's alleged sister, who married the younger Alard. We are therefore confronted with the hypothesis that Emma married a man of two generations later than her own; that she survived him, and married again—surely a wildly improbable contention!

On the other hand, it must be noted that, in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III., under January 9, 1253, there appears the "ratification of covenants made between John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, and Matthew Hoese, touching a marriage between Henry, son and heir of the said Matthew, and Joan, daughter of Alard le Fleming, niece of the said John."

This appears at first sight to traverse the view above set forth; it is impossible, however, to ignore the incongruity of Emma's marriage with a man two generations her junior, and her subsequent remarriage. The discrepancy may probably be accounted for by the insertion of "niece" in place of "grandniece" in the document. These charters and patents are frequently far more vague than this in the matter of relationships, other than the closest ties; "kinsman" or "kinswoman" is the term most commonly used, and one would not expect to find the nice distinction between niece and grandniece taken account of.

Felicia de Millers is associated with one John Maunsell in several official documents; in the twenty-sixth year of Henry III. (1242) she paid fines on lands in Sussex which Master Humphrey de

THE CASTLE KEEP, GUILDFORD.

Elias Mainsell was Constable of Guildford temp. Hen. III. (See Surrey Mainsells.)

Millers gave to her and John Maunsell ;[1] in 48 Henry III. (1264) her name appears as the widow of John Maunsell ;[2] in 47 Henry III. (1263) she is also mentioned as formerly the wife of John Maunsell, in connection with lands in Rossington, county Derby, which she apparently held in dower.[3]

It will be observed that D. W. P. Maunsell assumes that the John Maunsell mentioned in the Charter Rolls in connection with Felicia de Millers is identical with John the provost ; but the assumption appears to traverse his assertion that John was never married, as Felicia undoubtedly married one John Maunsell, and the most natural conclusion would be that her husband was the same John with whom she and her brother Humphrey de Millers had these transactions. It is, however, certain that the John Maunsell who married Felicia de Millers was not John the provost, as he was undoubtedly living after the period at which she is described as a widow. The proof of this statement will be given later on, in dealing with the time of Maunsell's death.

Meanwhile, this fact affords additional ground for the assumption that the John who is mentioned in the Charter Rolls was not the provost, but one of the other king's clerks bearing this name. The allusion to his "good services" during his lifetime would be quite natural in the case of one holding this position, and it is certain that these several Johns were employed, in some minor capacity, upon affairs of state, no doubt through the influence of their illustrious relative, concerning whom this tribute to "good services" would appear superfluous.

The positive assertion that John Maunsell's father married one Amabel is not, therefore, to be accepted as fact ; whether or not she was identical with Amabel of Rypun (or Ripon) mentioned in an Inq. Post Mortem upon another John Maunsell, in 1266, is uncertain ; she is alluded to as "kinswoman" of the deceased, and would therefore probably not be his mother. Mr. D. W. P. Maunsell

[1] Scaccarii Abbreviatio, 26 Henry III.

[2] Pipe Roll, Henry III., No. 108.

[3] Excerpta e Rotulis Finium, 1246-1272.

asserts positively that the two are separate persons; but the evidence is not adequate for the adoption of such a confident attitude.

It is stated that, on April 5, 1263, the king granted to John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, guardianship of all lands and houses belonging to Alard le Fleming, lately deceased, until the heirs of the said Alard shall be of age, together with the marriage of the said heirs; and for this privilege John Maunsell paid the large sum of one hundred pounds. (Excerpta e Rot. Finium, vol. ii., p. 395.)

This would appear, at first sight, to favour the hypothesis that the John mentioned in the Calendar of Charter Rolls is John, Treasurer of York. It does not, however, affect the fact that he was not the man who married Felicia de Millers, and had business transactions with her and her brother; but he was certainly a near relative of this John—probably his uncle—and it is not at all surprising that he should became guardian to Emma's children. This is the only theory which appears to fit in with all the circumstances.

Reverting to the main issue of John Maunsell's marriage:

The testimony of various writers, of heralds' visitations, of pedigrees compiled by members of the family and independent persons, constitutes undoubtedly a strong *prima facie* case in favour of the fact of his marriage: the bald denial of the fact, without the possibility of absolute proof, is absurd.

The marriage with Seraphina, daughter of Sir Philip Long, does not appear to be as well authenticated as that with Joan de Beauchamp. It is remarkable that Philip Mansell, of Oxwich, married, in the fifteenth century, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Philip Long, as will be seen later; possibly there may have been some confusion in the matter. This marriage, however, may be set aside as hypothetical; that which is said to have been contracted with Joan is the more probable.

The only objection, in the absence of actual proof on either side, which can be adduced against John Maunsell's marriage with Joan de Beauchamp is the fact of his being a cleric. This is a perfectly reasonable and valid objection; as a priest, or even as a deacon, marriage was forbidden for him by canon law; and though there was undoubtedly some laxity in the matter at that period, the

natural assumption would be that Maunsell felt himself bound by the ordinance to preserve the celibate state. While it is quite permissible to generalise upon alleged clerical abuses, the gratuitous assumption that an individual was guilty of such abuse is invidious. Moreover, in the case of John Maunsell the trespass is rendered highly improbable on account of the irregularity, of which he was certainly aware, in his father's marriage—an irregularity which was well known, we may be sure, long before it was turned to account by the Abbot of St. Albans. The repetition by John of his father's *faux pas* would have indicated a callousness and lack of wisdom with which it is not easy to credit him; and although there does not exist adequate ground of complete denial, it must be again insisted that such a course is very unlikely.

This contention appears, on the surface, to be equivalent to a denial of Maunsell's marriage; but there is another alternative, which seems to have escaped the notice of those who question his marriage on this ground.

It was the almost invariable practice in those days for men to marry very young; it was no uncommon occurrence for a lad of nineteen or twenty to marry a mere child of fifteen or sixteen; and it is by no means without the bounds of probability that John Maunsell married at this early age, and, after living in matrimony for a good many years, entered the Church upon becoming a widower—or, as is alleged by W. W. Mansell, twice a widower.

In the Calendar Rot. Pat. in Turri Londiniensi appears the following (p. 18):

"Pat. de 22 Hen. III. (1238).

"Maritagium concessum Johannis Maunsell cum acciderit."

This, however, would not apply to John Maunsell the provost, but to one of the younger Johns, who, being probably in the position of a ward, would require permission to be married. It is not clear to which of them it applies.

Maunsell is first mentioned in official records in the year 1234, in connection with the collection of a large sum in "tallage" from

the Jews.[1] In the same year there is a writ issued to the treasurer and chamberlains to pay to John Maunsell thirty marks, and to two others each forty marks a year, "so long as they sit at the Exchequer by the king's order."[2]

Maunsell's position is, however, more definitely indicated in the Close Rolls of the same year, and Thomas Madox, in his "History of the Exchequer," alludes to this writ in the following terms: "As to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he seems to have been an official appointed to be a controul or check upon the Treasurer. In the 18th year of K. Henry III. John Maunsell was appointed to execute a certain office at the Exchequer. I cannot tell what office it was, unless it was that of Chancellor. The appointment was by Close Writ, in this manner: The King by the writ directed to Hugh de Pateshull Treasurer, sent John Maunsell to reside at the Exchequer of Receipt, and to have a Counter Roll of all things pertaining to the said Receipt; and commanded the Treasurer to admit him accordingly."[3]

Madox is, however, in error in his conjecture that Maunsell's post was equivalent to or identical with that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the contemporary Patent Rolls, and another Close Roll, would have proved to him, had he consulted them. The summary which he gives of the writ is quite correct, and he quotes the Latin text *verbatim* in a footnote; but he ignores another writ, on the same membrane, addressed personally to one Alexander de Swereford, Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, appointing him to a similar but superior post; for he is, by the Patent Roll, to receive forty marks per annum.[4] It is obvious, therefore, that Maunsell

[1] "Tallage" was a special and occasional tax levied upon cities, boroughs, and royal demesnes. The amount to be paid was determined by officials of the Exchequer, in special fiscal circuits, through separate negotiations with local authorities. Possibly John Maunsell was one of these visiting officials. The derivation of the term "tallage" is said by some to be from the "tally," a slip of wood upon which notches of various fixed dimensions indicated different amounts. The slip was split down, one half going as an exchequer record, the other as a receipt. This rough-and-ready device was in use until the commencement of the nineteenth century.

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1234.

[3] "History of the Exchequer," by Thomas Madox. Vol. ii., p. 51.

[4] Cal. Patent Rolls; Cal. Close Rolls, 1234.

held no such important post as that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Madox is himself in doubt as to the precise time of the institution of this office, and implies that Maunsell may have been the first to hold it. Probably it would be more correct to assume that Maunsell and his colleagues—there was a third simultaneously appointed—formed a sort of commission to execute the office of chancellor.

The point to be here especially noted, however, is that in the Close Roll above referred to John Maunsell is named "clericum nostrum dilectum"; and the question is thereby raised as to the precise signification of the term "clericus." It is certain that it did not necessarily imply that the person thus designated was in full priest's orders; whether it involved the possession of minor orders is open to question. It may well have been applied as simply denoting a man of some education, who could read and write, and keep accounts. These simple accomplishments were confined in those days to a few, chiefly among the clergy, it is true; but the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica holds the view that the term might have been applied to anyone of sufficient education to undertake secretarial or similar duties, and that the distinctive appellation, "clerk in holy orders," was subsequently adopted to indicate more definitely the status involved.

The question is of some moment as bearing upon the possible marriage of John Maunsell, and his acceptance of orders after he became a widower. If he was in minor orders, and consequently debarred from living as a married man, in the year 1234, the period during which he could thus have lived is the more restricted; while the hypothesis that the term "clericus" as used by the king in the Close Roll signified no more than a man of education, certainly renders more feasible the theory which is now advanced.

Du Cange, the famous French archæologist, in his Latin "Glossarium," deals exhaustively with the term "clericus," and under "Clerici Regis" has the following: "Qui et *Notarii*, et postmodum *Secretarii* appelati. . . . Matthæus Paris ann. 1250, *Clerici quoque nomine, Regis Consiliarii, etc.*" It is clear from this that Du Cange did not reckon the term "king's clerk" as necessarily carrying the possession of orders; it is probable that cause and

effect may have been confused, by reason of the fact that, if the king required an educated man as secretary, he was frequently, perhaps almost invariably, compelled to seek him among the clergy, or those who were preparing for the acceptance of orders. Du Cange quotes Matthew Paris in support of his reading, but, singularly enough in so eminent an authority, he has misquoted him; the passage runs: "Clerici quoque *domini* regis consiliarii," not *nomine;* and it has immediate reference to the "crossing" of John Maunsell and others. The term "clerici" may in this instance be read either way.

The point, however, need not be unduly insisted upon; the presumption that John Maunsell was the senior of the king is perfectly reasonable, though not to the extent of fifteen or sixteen years, as is implied by W. W. Mansell. If he was born in the year 1200 he might very well have lived in wedlock for ten or twelve years, and then have been eligible, in widowhood, for the acceptance of minor orders, in 1233 or 1234.

The hypothesis may then be fairly adopted, that Maunsell was a married man first, and a priest later; while admittedly insusceptible of actual proof, it nevertheless has the effect of reconciling, as no other presumption is capable of doing, the various conflicting opinions which have already been under analysis with regard to his alleged marriage, disarming the *non possumus* of over-confident writers, and lending at least a plausible confirmation to the allegations of others, which, although likewise incapable of precise demonstration, cannot, in the face of their concurrence, logically be ignored. The question of his possible issue must be left for future consideration.

In some capacity, therefore, and, by inference, in increasingly intimate relations with the king, John Maunsell passed the first sixteen or seventeen years of Henry's reign. During this time he was, of course, acquiring that knowledge and insight with regard to affairs of state which, together with his natural courage and keen acumen, rendered him subsequently of such high value as a counsellor. Whether or not, during this period, the circumstances of his birth were known, there is no evidence to show; but it is clear that they did not militate against his acceptance with the king, who, when suitable opportunity presented itself, appointed him, as we have

seen, to a responsible post, demanding a high standard of business capacity and integrity.

Henry III., coming to the throne as a child under ten years of age, succeeded to a heritage of strife, the outcome of the detestable character and savage misrule of his father, John.

The ink was scarcely dry on the famous Magna Charta before John was once more at open war with the barons, and only a few months before his death and Henry's accession the crown had been offered to and accepted by Louis, Dauphin of France, who actually received the homage of his supporters in St. Paul's. Before John's death, however, the tide had again turned in his favour, and his little son was crowned in Gloucester cathedral, though Louis was still very much in evidence, and it was only after some desperate fighting that he finally agreed to come to terms.

Henry, of course, had no active part in these affairs; but at the age of seventeen he assumed the office of king in person, and speedily proved that he possessed but little capacity as a ruler. He is credited with being deeply religious, and certainly he displayed no tendency to the cruelty and profligacy for which his father was notorious; but his character was compounded of conflicting traits, which constantly landed him in difficulties. Where firmness was necessary, he would weakly yield, and when some judicious concession would have restored the confidence and loyalty of his people he would display a fatal obstinacy, which could only tend to irritate and further alienate them; nor did he, despite his religion, appear to attach any importance to the fulfilling of a promise or keeping his word. He was recklessly extravagant and improvident, and was constantly in financial difficulties, from which he would endeavour to extricate himself by imposts which unequally distributed the burthen of taxation, and aroused the indignation and resentment of high and low alike.

Into the turmoil of this unrestful and ill-starred reign John Maunsell was launched as a comparatively young man, and was destined to become the chief counsellor and adviser of the king, who was certainly sorely in need of judicious counsel upon innumerable occasions; and it may be said with truth that Maunsell never failed to give him of his best.

It was not long before John Maunsell was called upon to quit his snug seat at the Exchequer, and take part in more stirring events; and there is little doubt but that the change was welcome to him.

In the year 1235 the king's sister, Isabella, married Frederick II., Emperor of Germany; and three years later came the expedition, already alluded to, in aid of Frederick against the cities of Northern Italy, under the leadership of Henry de Turbeville, with John Maunsell and William Hardel in company, probably in charge of financial affairs.

Maunsell, however, speedily gave proof of his prowess in the more active operations of the field. "Through the whole summer the army of the King fought bravely for the Emperor, and they overcame the citizens of certain states who wished to withstand them, and brought them back under the Empire. And there the aforesaid John Maunsell bore himself stoutly." [1]

Having thus demonstrated his capacity as a fighting man, as well as in the office of the Exchequer, and being already in high favour with the king, Maunsell returned from this expedition with his advancement assured.

The king, mightily pleased with the exploits of his favourite, looked round for some adequate means of rewarding him, and immediately conceived the convenient and inexpensive project of bestowing upon Maunsell a more or less lucrative ecclesiastical benefice. This was, of course, a practice which was only too prevalent in those days, involving deplorable abuses, which occasionally evoked violent remonstrance on the part of the bishops, and sometimes a more formidable opposition from the pope. The practice was carried to its extreme limit by Henry VIII., who, having thrown over the pope, had it all his own way, and rewarded his favourites with lands robbed from unoffending monastics, and Church endowments.

Henry III., however, had selected an inopportune moment for his vicarious generosity: Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, a very ardent champion of ecclesiastical rights and privileges, and a man of

[1] "Foedera." Vol. i., p. 415.

determined character, was endeavouring at that time to reform some abuses in the Church, and, amongst others, this very practice of bestowing upon royal favourites such benefices, regardless of their fitness for the office, of their intention of entirely neglecting its duties, and even of their being only in minor orders.

Maunsell, being then probably in minor orders, but certainly not a fully ordained priest, was nominated by the pope, at the instigation of King Henry, for the Prebend of Thame; and this step immediately elicited a vehement protest from Grosseteste.

The bishop was, furthermore, upon firm ground, for he held authority from the pope to refuse to institute to a living or other benefice save under certain conditions, which the selection of Maunsell did not satisfy. Accordingly, he refused to accept the pope's—or perhaps one should rather say the king's—nominee, saying that he had already presented one Simon, of London, to the post.[1]

Here was the making of a pretty quarrel; but Maunsell saved the situation by a tactful and, as it proved, a politic attitude of submission. "And when this had become known to the aforesaid John, he came humbly to the king, and said: 'My lord, here is the Bishop of Lincoln at hand, greatly angered. Lest any further discord arise on my account, or scandal be bruited abroad, I resign that prebend which is in dispute.'"[2]

Henry, being aware of the determined character of the bishop, accepted with alacrity this timely deliverance from an awkward position; and Grosseteste, having thus vindicated his right, bestowed upon Maunsell the more lucrative benefice of Maidstone, "in recognition of his known worth." He was shortly further enriched by presentation to the wealthy living of Howden, so his tact and moderation received an ample reward;[3] and if it cannot be asserted, or even with probability assumed, that he performed any duties at Maidstone or Howden in return for the enjoyment of these emoluments, he must not be unduly censured for falling in with the not

[1] "Henry III. and the Church," by F. A. Gasquet; p. 196 *et seq.*

[2] Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora." Vol. iii., p. 153.

[3] Papal Letters. Vol. i., p. 218.

very admirable usage of his day. To have declined these presentations would have savoured of almost heroic altruism.

It is certain, indeed, that John Maunsell found but little opportunity of devoting himself to his *quasi*-pastoral duties, for we very soon find him once more exchanging the habit of the civilian or ecclesiastic for that of the soldier.

King Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, was titular Count of Poitou, but apparently he so misgoverned, or neglected to govern the province, that Louis, King of France, superseded him, formally investing his own brother, Alphonse, with the charge of Poitou and Auvergne, to the unbounded rage and annoyance of Isabella, widow of King John and mother to Henry and Richard, who was married to Hugh de Lusignan, Comte de la Marche. The count and his wife were present at the investiture of Alphonse, and were, according to Isabella, treated with scant courtesy;[1] and the lady so worked upon the feelings of her husband and King Henry, that the latter determined upon a campaign in support of the claim of his brother Richard. The project by no means found favour with Henry's parliament, which refused any grant for the purpose; but Henry, *more suo*, persisted in his design.

This was in the year 1242, and John Maunsell had just then been appointed to the custody of Gascony, "until the King has provided a Seneschal."[2] The appointment has a nice, snug sound about it, and the natural inference would be that it was conferred upon Maunsell as a special and lucrative post. As a matter of fact, the custody of the province of Gascony was by no means a "plum"; no doubt the bestowal of this charge upon John Maunsell was, in a sense, an honourable distinction, and a tribute to his capacity and integrity; but it was a very thankless office. The district was poor, the people unruly and lazy; the seneschal had no power to levy taxes, and was compelled to have recourse to the negotiation of loans to meet current expenses. Henry, indeed, gave him a bond, "in whatever he reasonably spends in the said custody from Martin-

[1] "The Court of a Saint," by Winifred E. Knox; p. 105.

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III.

CHICHELEY CHURCH, NEAR NEWPORT PAGNELL, BUCKS.

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mass, 27 Henry III. onwards, as well his own expenses as the wages of serjeants and balisters and others,"[1] etc.; but he had a sorry time, and on one occasion Hugh de Lusignan lent him 160 marks to pay his board and lodging at La Rochelle.[2] In the following year Maunsell was appointed seneschal of Gascony, and subsequently incurred liabilities for which he was called upon to find security ("mainprise") four years later.[3]

Meanwhile, Maunsell was being called upon to undertake various offices involving alike diplomatic and military duties.

Henry, pursuing his obstinate way, found himself confronted by the French king with a greatly superior force, and was compelled to make a hasty retreat on Saintonge (Saintes); a few days later, however, the two armies met in furious encounter near this same place, and among the combatants was John Maunsell. Matthew Paris says: "Many others of the French were also taken prisoners; amongst them Peter Orige, seneschal of the Count of Boulogne, was taken by John Maunsell, a clerk and especial counsellor of the King of England, who was reckoned not least among brave men."[4]

In the following year Maunsell was sent as a special envoy to settle a dispute between the bishop and the citizens of Dax: and there is evidence of the strong hand which he maintained as seneschal in the "acknowledgement of a receipt on the Saturday after midsummer in the wardrobe at Bordeaux from the good men of Langun of 200 pounds of Bordeaux, of the fine they made with John Maunsell, when he was Seneschal of Gascony, for a trespass they committed at Saint Emichoir in the killing of a man."[5]

The troubles of the seneschal in his own district were again to be interrupted by active participation in his sovereign's battles; probably John found these lively interludes very welcome, having a

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III

[2] "England under the Normans and Angevins," by H. W. C. Davis.

[3] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III.

[4] Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora." English translation by A. Giles. Vol. i., p. 422.

[5] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III.

good stomach for a fight. On this occasion, however, he nearly lost his life.

"There is a certain monastery called Verines, where the King's rebels took refuge and made the church into a castle, or rather into a den of thieves. This fortress was hotly besieged and attacked by the King's faithful servants, but without success, when one of the King's clerks and special councillors, named John Maunsell, a man brave in arms and of an undaunted spirit, reproached the assailants with their slothfulness and loss of time; and just when he was setting an example to the others by more effectually rising up against the enemy, and seeking to prepare an approach, one of the besieged, situated on a higher part of the church, flung upon the said clerk a stone of great weight, and crushed his leg, with the joints and marrow in his bones. And while the said man was preparing to overwhelm the rest of his body with stones, his friends, who were most sincerely attached to him, covered him with their own bodies and large shields, called targets, and thus with difficulty freed him from the peril of death. And the same John, severely wounded in body, was for a long time weak and languishing. But when, by the skill of the surgeons, he was restored and began to breathe, the King, seeing his great valour and loyalty, from being a special councillor, made the said John a more special councillor; still, as, from his well-proved merits, he deserved to be ranked among the highest in England." [1]

No one would be disposed to begrudge Maunsell the royal recognition of such a gallant rally, by which no doubt he at least averted a more or less hasty withdrawal from the siege, if not more drastic disaster; in these times he would certainly have been awarded the D.S.O., or possibly even the V.C.

For this military service Maunsell received an ecclesiastical reward. He was in this same year (1243) granted the chancellorship of St. Paul's, London, "in the King's gift by reason of the voidance of the bishopric of London, with mandate to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to assign him a stall in the choir and a place in the chapter." [2]

[1] "Chronica Majora." English translation. Vol. i., p. 440.

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III.

This, indeed, was merely the beginning of a long course of favours and preferments which crowded upon the fortunate chancellor. It was probably about this time that Maunsell obtained, or at least prayed for, the papal dispensation from the disabilities of his parentage, so that he might receive priest's orders. Perhaps he did this, as is suggested by W. W. Mansell, at the king's instigation; the moment would be quite opportune for such a step, when Maunsell was entering upon an important ecclesiastical preferment. He certainly deserved well of his sovereign, and Henry, by nature fickle and inconstant, prone to forget or to ignore his promises and neglect his servants, proved in this instance a grateful and munificent master.

Previously to the bestowal upon him of the Chancellorship of St. Paul's, Maunsell had already made a good beginning in the matter of pluralities: he was appointed in 1235 to the living of Bawburgh, in the diocese of Norwich, in connection with which occurs the following somewhat remarkable edict: "Protestation, lest in process of time any prejudice should arise for the abbot and monks of Bourepos by reason of presentation which the king has made of John Maunsell, King's Clerk, to the church of Bawburgh, that the said John obtained the said church at the presentation of the said Abbot and monks."[1] In 1241 he was appointed to the living of Haughley, and here again there is some engineering of the right of presentation, which was claimed by Richard of Cornwall and the prior and convent of Lewes; but Richard, *malgré* the prior, named others as his deputies, who in their turn conferred the right upon the king. In the same year he was made Prebend of South Malling, and likewise of Tottenhall and St. Paul's; in 1244, Prebend of Chichester, and in 1246 Dean of Wimborne.[2] He was also appointed, somewhere about this time, Rector of Wigan; the year does not appear to be recorded, but he is alluded to in 1245 as "Parson of the church of Wygan," on the occasion of the grant to him and his successors of a weekly market on Monday at his manor of Wygan, and of a yearly fair there on the Vigil of All Saints.[3]

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III.

[2] *Ibid.*, under years specified.

[3] *Ibid.*

The wording of this patent is explained by the fact that, from an early period, the parsons of Wigan held the manor as an appanage to their church. "It was subsequently held by them under the Lords of Newton or Barons of Makerfield, as they were indiscriminately called, who presented to the church as patrons, and to whom the Parsons owed suit. But except as patrons of the church the interest of these mesne lords was little more than nominal, and the Parsons were the real lords of the manor, though in some of the inquisitions *post mortem* Wigan is mentioned among the manors of the Lords of Newton." [1]

This living was obviously one of the most desirable. We do not know how it came to be bestowed upon John Maunsell, but probably the patrons required but little pressure to induce them to follow the royal lead in honouring the favourite.

In the year 1247 Matthew Paris records the further enrichment and advancement of John Maunsell, in a separate paragraph headed, "De Johannis Mansel promotione et exaltatione." "While time was thus gliding on amidst these unlooked-for events, John Mansel, chancellor of St. Paul's Church at London, by the wish and at the request of the King (whose petition is imperious and compulsory), undertook the charge of the King's seal, to discharge the duties and fill the office of Chancellor. Besides this, the provostship of Beverley was conferred on him by the Archbishop of York; and the King, although he was sorry that this office was not given to his half-brother, yet, because he found the said John faithful and necessary in supporting his cares and solicitudes, did not wish him to be grieved or robbed of any honour conferred on him." [2]

The man who, in any position of trust or importance, makes himself necessary, may be either a gainer or a loser by reason of his efficiency. There have been not a few instances, as naval and military men could testify, in which advancement has been refused or retarded, because the man "could not be spared" from his present

[1] "History of the Church and Manor of Wigan," by the Hon. and Rev. Geo. T. O. Bridgeman. Part i., p. 2.

[2] "Chronica Majora," by Matthew Paris. Vol. iv., p. 601.

BEVERLEY MINSTER.

Exterior, South Side.

(From an eighteenth century print.)

post. The man who makes himself necessary to his sovereign will not, however, run much risk in this direction; we may ransack records in vain to find an instance. Promotion and honour is heaped upon him, and only through his own folly, or through malice and envy in high places, will his downfall be accomplished; then, as Wolsey realised, "he falls like Lucifer, never to hope again."

John Maunsell was not the man to throw away his chances; and though he doubtless had enemies, his position with the king remained unassailable.

The "unlooked-for events" alluded to by Matthew Paris in the passage quoted above do not greatly concern John Maunsell; he had, in 1244, after his return with the king in the previous year, been appointed, together with Paul Piper, one of the king's chief advisers,[1] a responsible and sometimes a very difficult post: Henry was so frequently in need of "a sight o' guid advice," and was prone, having accepted it, to go his own obstinate way after all. Probably John Maunsell was more successful in this office than any other of his councillors.

During this period there was a prolonged and dismal squabble between Henry, his barons, the bishops, and the pope, into which it is not necessary to enter in detail. Money was wanted to pay for the war, and neither the barons, the clergy, nor the people were at all disposed to disburse it, though Henry obtained an order from the pope directing the English prelates to supply him; all he got was a grant for the marriage of his eldest daughter with the son of the Emperor Frederick. Then the pope was at loggerheads with Frederick, and sent over one Master Martin as his envoy to extract money from the clergy and people of England. Master Martin appears to have been a very truculent and unscrupulous person, and he had not long been engaged upon his task when he received an intimation from the barons that if he did not depart forthwith they would tear him in pieces. This gentle hint alarmed Master Martin, and he fled to the king to beg for safe conduct. Henry, however,

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. iv., p. 294.

was so irritated by his own impecuniosity, and the ignoble squabbling about money which had been going on for so long, that he fairly lost his temper. "May the devil give you a safe conduct to hell!" he replied. Whether Master Martin eventually obtained a safe conduct, either from the terrestrial or satanic potentate, does not concern us here; but the upshot of the business was that the services of John Maunsell and others were requisitioned to convey to all the prelates who held lordships in capite of the king his strict command that they were not to pledge their lay fee to the Church of Rome, to the deprivation of himself of the service due to him;[1] and so the wretched business dragged on. But Master Martin appears, after all, to have got away with a considerable amount of spoil.

Meanwhile the king had in view for John Maunsell a mission of a more peaceful, but also of a more delicate character; it is recorded in the Patent Rolls that "John Maunsell had the custody of the King's seal from 8 November, 31 Henry III., until Friday, the morrow of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist in that year (*i.e.*, from 8 November, 1246 to 29 August, 1247), on which day the King sent him as his envoy beyond seas."[2]

Matthew Paris gives a somewhat quaint account of the nature of this mission and its failure: "About the same time were sent on the King's behalf the Abbot of Westminster and Sir John Maunsell, into Germany, to the Duke of Brabant, to treat concerning the arrangement of a marriage between Edward the King's son and the daughter of the said duke. But by reason of some secret causes hindering their proposal, they returned in sadness with empty saddle-bags, each bewailing that he had thus expended his labour and his own goods to no purpose."[3]

One can well imagine that to John Maunsell, accustomed as he was to carry through all his undertakings, whether on his own account or on that of his royal master, with characteristic aplomb and success, this failure was decidedly galling; nor was his chagrin

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. iv., p. 375.

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls.

[3] "Chronica Majora." Vol. iv., pp. 623-4.

mitigated by the fact that Henry indicated his displeasure by the practical and drastic device of refusing to pay his expenses. Such a journey, with the necessary accessories demanded by the circumstances, must have cost a good deal, and Maunsell had figured long enough as king's favourite to be keenly alive to the fact that, whether it be or be not more blessed, it is certainly more pleasant to receive than to give.

The king, however, feeling perhaps that it was impolitic to remain upon questionable terms with his resourceful councillor, restored him to favour before very long, for we find him, on August 10, 1248, once more keeper of the great seal, a post which he held until Lady Day in the following year.[1]

A king's favourite, while he will find many willing to toady him in the hope of royal consideration, will likewise assuredly have many enemies, whose jealousy may prompt them to plot some secret injury against him, or even endeavour to compass his death. John Maunsell, by reason of his pleasing personality, was on good terms with other courtiers; but he had a sharp reminder one day, in the year 1249, that there were others who were not so well disposed towards him.

The king and queen, with their suite, and John Maunsell of course, in attendance, were on their way to be present at the enthronement of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and made a stage at Maidstone. It will doubtless be recollected that John Maunsell had, some years previously, been presented to the rich living there, and had all this time been drawing the emoluments accruing thereto, without, it must necessarily be presumed, performing any pastoral duties in return for them; his time, indeed, is pretty well accounted for, and it was, moreover, unfortunately the practice at that time thus to hold a living without ever going near the place—a practice which cannot have been very acceptable with the absentee's parishioners.

Here, within his own rectory, or one of his rectories, an attempt was apparently made to assassinate Maunsell; he was taken very

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls.

ill, and it was only through the assiduous care of the physicians that he recovered, the symptoms pointing distinctly to poisoning. The perpetrator of this attempt was not discovered, but it may well have been some irate and unscrupulous member of what should have been his congregation. These things—absentee rectors and would-be poisoners—are very regrettable, but they were pretty common in those days, when pastoral duties and human life were too frequently held cheap. However, Maunsell escaped with his life, and no doubt he turned his back upon Maidstone without many regrets.

In 1250, on the Sunday preceding the feast of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, March 6, the king's incessant quarrels with the citizens of London reached a pitch which demanded some immediate remediary action on his part, and he was reduced to the necessity of making a somewhat abject spectacle of himself. He summoned the citizens, with their families, down to the age of twelve years, before him in the great hall at Westminster. To this vast assembly Henry made a most humble apology—"humiliter quasi lacrimis"—for his anger, malevolence, and rancour towards them—a sad spectacle! He made them a number of promises as to the restoration of their liberties, and so forth, but their property was not restored.

Then there ensued a solemn function, which may have been designed to emphasise Henry's remorse; he and a number of his nobles and courtiers were "crossed"—*i.e.*, enlisted for a part in the Crusades—at the hands of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury; and among those who were thus enrolled, we are told, were included John Maunsell and Philip Lovel, king's clerks and councillors, and many others too numerous to mention.[1]

It is scarcely surprising that some "evil interpreters" suspected the king of an ulterior design—that of finding an excuse for wringing money from the nobles, ostensibly for the prosecution of the Holy War, but in reality to "get even with them" for having refused him funds. Perhaps they were wrong; possibly Henry was really imbued at the moment with a genuine enthusiasm against the pagan defilers of the Holy Places; but the choice of this particular occasion,

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 101.

and the opportune presence of Boniface, all ready to perform the function, certainly has the appearance of what is vulgarly termed a "plant." Moreover, neither the king nor John Maunsell went to Palestine. The latter was probably "crossed" in all good faith—he was, as we have seen, no shirker when hard knocks were going—but he remained, perforce, with his master.

Later in this same year there was a great assembly of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers—Dominicans—from all parts, held in London, and John Maunsell in his turn entertained them.

In September Maunsell was called upon to take part in the compassing of an outrageous "job," to wit, the election of the king's half-brother, Aylmer of Valence, to the bishopric of Winchester, just become vacant. Aylmer was a mere youth, unable to speak English, and absolutely unfitted from every point of view for such a post. With Maunsell was associated Peter Chacepork, another king's clerk; the king knew them both to be "most clever in all kinds of argument," and they were enjoined "by means of soft words and promises" to induce the cathedral clergy and monks to accept this sorry candidate as their bishop. The two clerks maintained their reputations as skilful dialecticians, and actually prevailed, partly, as Matthew Paris puts it, "by enervating the minds of some of the monks"—one is reminded of Touchstone's menace to William the Shepherd: "I will bandy thee in faction, I will o'er-run thee with policy." And so the bewildered clerics gave way for the moment; but Aylmer's installation was postponed for no less than ten years, during which period he was designated "Bishop elect"—and perhaps the emoluments of the office meanwhile found their way to "the king's wardrobe." [1]

This episode certainly does not tend to raise Maunsell in our estimation; but it is one of the penalties attached to the position of king's favourite, that he must be prepared to shackle his conscience when occasion demands. With some monarchs, indeed, the alternative

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 179. King Henry on this occasion backed up the representations of his envoys by going down to Winchester and preaching a kind of sermon to the monks, *from the bishop's chair*, upon their duties towards their sovereign in such matters.

would have been the loss of his head; Henry VIII. had a very short way with such scrupulous persons.

In the following year Maunsell is presented to us in the more pleasing character of a courageous and prudent peacemaker. One Henry de Bathe, who had been accused of grossly abusing an official position to his own enrichment, and for whom Maunsell had offered to become surety, appeared before the Grand Parliament in London. The king, greatly enraged against him, caused a proclamation to be made that anyone who had cause of action or complaint against de Bathe should come to court, and his case would be heard before the king in person. This summons met with a liberal response, and so angry was the king at the many and serious accusations against de Bathe, that he rose and exclaimed, "If anyone shall slay Henry of Bath, he shall be quit of his death, and I declare him quit of the same," and then made a hurried exit. One is reminded of the outburst of his grandfather, Henry II., which occasioned the murder of Thomas à Becket: "Will no one rid me of this upstart clerk?"

Possibly Henry III. did not intend to be taken literally at his word; but he certainly would have been but for the cool and timely intervention of John Maunsell, who, stepping between de Bathe and the others, said, "My lords and friends, it is not necessary that we should act upon what is said over-hastily and in anger; perhaps when the moment of anger is past our lord will be sorry that he has given utterance to such an angry speech. Besides, if you do any violence to this Henry, here are the Bishop of London and his other friends, the former of whom will take spiritual, and the latter temporal vengeance."[1]

By this courageous and politic action Maunsell performed a signal service, not only to Henry de Bathe, but also to his royal master, who would certainly have regretted his hasty speech had it resulted in the death of the former. Maunsell's counsel of moderation prevailed, and de Bathe was liberated on condition of the payment of a sum of money.

This incident possesses considerable interest over and above

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 223.

the pleasing exhibition of courage and humanity; it is illustrative of Maunsell's relations with the king, and also of his intimate knowledge of Henry's character. It is no light matter, even for a king's favourite, to rise and practically contravene the royal injunction; but Maunsell had so accurately gauged his place in the king's regard, had so thoroughly mastered every idiosyncrasy of Henry's personality, that he was able, without fear of consequences, to take this course, which must always redound to his credit, as a most honourable use of his privileged position.

Maunsell was later called upon to act, in company with Earl Richard of Cornwall, as arbitrator between the monks at Westminster and their abbot, who had returned from Rome after a long absence, deeply involved in debt, but primed with letters "from many princes," and sundry suggestions, or requests, concerning Winchester and Westminster. But the king would have none of his notions; he angrily dismissed him from his council as well as from his affections. Richard of Cornwall and John Maunsell decided in favour of the monks and against the abbot; "for they knew that they would please the king by this decision," says Matthew Prior, not ill-pleased at the chance of a sneer at John.[1] Probably the decision was a just one, for it was obvious that the abbot, Richard of Croxley, a man of great personal attractions, had permitted himself to be somewhat carried away by "the sweet aspect of princes," had rushed into extravagances beyond his means, and conceived schemes concerning the two great monasteries which were predoomed to arouse violent opposition.

Later on, in 1252, Maunsell was again called upon to intervene in the quarrels of Abbot Croxley, on this occasion in co-operation with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and with the cognisance and consent of the king.

The result of their investigation is embodied in a Latin document which has been styled "The Westminster Convention," and of which a facsimile and translation, together with a reproduction of two of the seals attached to it, is here given.

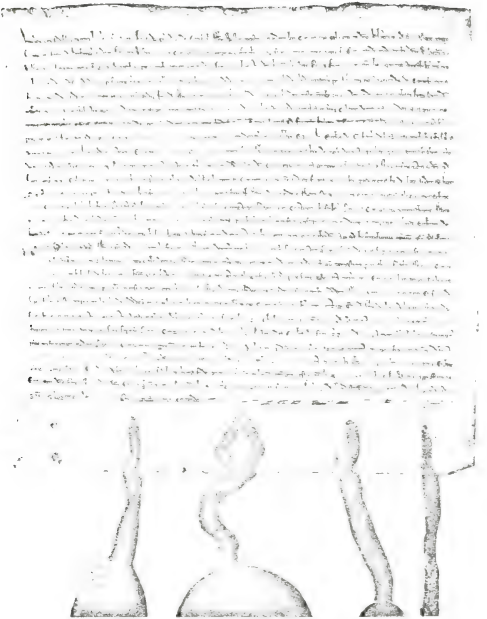
[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., pp. 238-9.

The convention speaks for itself, and no comment thereon is necessary.

THE WESTMINSTER CONVENTION

To all the Faithful in Christ who shall inspect the present letters Richard by the Grace of God called of Crockele Abbott of Westminster and the Convent of the same place, greeting in the Lord. You shall know that since on the occasion of a composition between Richard of Berkinge formerly Abbott of Westminster and his Convent, entered into among us and as far as possible for the future, contentions had arisen, at length by the mediation of the Lords W. Bishop of Bath and Wells and John Mansell, Provost of Beverle, concerning all contentions by the assent and will of the Lord Henry the illustrious King of England, our Patron, the strife was amicably settled between us in this manner, namely, that of the aforesaid composition three articles which gave cause of contention should be removed, that is to say, of obedientiaries not to be removed by the Abbott, of finding meat for monks and of not visiting their manors, so that the Abbott, for the time being, shall according to the order and rule of the Blessed Benedict be able for a reasonable cause to remove obedientiaries from their administrations, and that he shall not be held liable to find meat for the monks and that once a year he shall visit the chief manors allotted to the cellarer, and anything that he shall find in them to be corrected he shall visit correct and amend, staying there for one day and receiving nothing except wood for the hearth, litter and hay if they are to be found in the said manors, and corn for twenty horses if it shall be found there, and if it shall not be found threepence for each horse.

Item that in the creation of cellarers the Prior and Convent shall name to the Abbott four monks of whom he shall accept two of whom one shall have the external custody and administration of the temporal affairs as well of the manors as of the rents assigned to the said Convent in his portion and the other the internal as is customary. But the external cellarer shall appoint under him someone of the free men of the Convent who shall hear forensic and civil causes which it is not lawfully permitted to a monk to hear. But the



DOCUMENT KNOWN AS THE WESTMINSTER CONVENTION

common seal shall be under four keys of which a monk deputed by the Abbott shall have one, the Prior another, the Sub-Prior a third, and a monk whom the Convent shall choose the fourth. To the honour of God and the Church hospitality shall be observed there and in the creation of the hosteler the Prior and the Convent shall name to the Abbott four monks of whom he shall accept two, of whom one shall preside in the hostelery, who shall entertain guests honourably as is seemly and fitting and he shall have the Church of Dysewell, and those things which in the aforesaid composition are allotted to hospitality and almsgiving, and the other shall be to him for an aid alike in the business of hospitality as in dispensing alms to the Faithful in Christ. But the Abbott shall be held [liable?] for the reception of guests and others in all things as is contained in the ancient composition of which mention was made above. And both the hosteler and the cellarer and all the other obedientiaries of the house shall swear on their creation that they will manage all things for the good of the monastery faithfully to the Abbott and Convent . . . and will withhold nothing for themselves from the goods assigned to their office, and shall not convert them to any other uses than those to which they are assigned. And once in the year or more often if it shall seem expedient both they and the servants of the manors the Provosts and bailiffs shall render an account to the Abbott and Convent of their offices and administrations and if there should be anything over after the account thus rendered it shall be wholly turned to the more necessary uses of hospitality throughout the Convent. And that the Abbott shall be unable to send any one of the brothers from place to place except for a reasonable cause and after diligent deliberation with the Convent, and that for the better bearing of the burdens of the increase of charges of the monks and of the anniversaries which the Prior and the Convent have to keep at their own expense the Church at Feringe which the Lord Pope confirmed to the monastery of Westminster for its own use shall remain to the same Prior and Convent for ever. And that everything else contained in the aforesaid ancient composition shall remain in force, due . . . obedience, and . . . reverence to the Abbott according to the rule of the Blessed Benedict and the Statutes of the General

Chapters in everything else being always saved and reserved. And all and singular these things we faithfully in good faith promise to keep without fraud or guile. And in witness of all these things to this written convention we set our seals. And as well the Lord King as the aforesaid Lords Bishop and Provost set their seals in witness to these letters. Given at Wodestoke on the sixteenth day of August in the year of grace the one thousand two hundred and fifty-second.

Maunsell also intervened on behalf of Philip Lovel, a clerk in the king's service, who was accused of having remitted the payment of tallage from some of the Jews, in return for handsome gifts from them. The king ordered Philip to be disgraced; but, "being a cunning and prudent man," he appealed for assistance to John Maunsell, whose *protégé* he had been, with the result that he was permitted to purge himself of his offence by payment of one thousand marks. He was, however, dismissed from his office.[1]

After thus successfully intervening in the quarrels of others, John Maunsell became involved in a dispute on his own account with the abbot and monks at Tewkesbury, concerning the tithes of Kingston Manor. Maunsell is said to have "extorted" the tithes from the monks;[2] but what was the outcome of the dispute does not appear.

In the year 1251 Maunsell was appointed a papal chaplain;[3] and immediately afterwards there arose further occasion of his services in the arranging of a royal marriage, this time with prompt success.

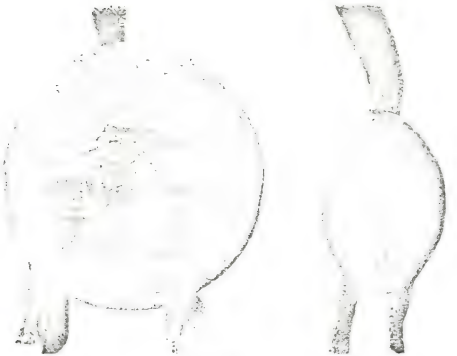
Alexander II. of Scotland had died in 1249, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander III., then a boy eight years of age. Henry, by way of creating a better understanding with the Scots, who were a constant source of trouble to him, conceived the idea of marrying his daughter Margaret to the young Scotch monarch; and John Maunsell, notwithstanding his former failure in similar negotiations, was

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., pp. 268-9.

[2] Annales Monastici. Vol. i., p. 147.

[3] Papal Letters. Vol. i., p. 269.

Obverse.



Reverse.

KING HENRY III

WILLIAM BUTTON OR BITTON
BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

TWO SEALS ATTACHED TO THE WESTMINSTER CONVENTION

Another copy of this Convention is at Westminster Abbey, with four seals, including that of Sir John Mansell, attached, but it is not at present available for reproduction, having been consigned to a place of safe keeping during the war.

selected as the king's envoy for this weighty business. The proposal was received with immediate favour, and promptly consummated. At Christmas the two kings, "with the nobility of both realms, met together at York; and on Christmas Day the King of Scotland received his arms as a knight at the hands of the King of England, and the next day he married Margaret, the eldest daughter of the said King." [1] So these two children were united, and John Maunsell's prestige thereby augmented, with the pleasing fact of royal and ecclesiastical appreciation practically demonstrated in the bestowal of further benefices.

Matthew Prior takes occasion to moralise about this time on the subject: "He was so smiled upon by fortune, and became so rich that his whole yearly income was computed to amount to four thousand marks . . . indeed no clerk was ever known in our times to have risen to such a state of opulence. It was a source of great astonishment and wonder to those who know the things which are of God, that so circumspect a man did not fear to undertake the care of so many souls, when it was evident that he would be bound to render an account of them all before the Supreme Judge." [2]

It would appear, indeed, that the protests and efforts of Grosseteste and others in the matter of pluralities were not permitted to affect the king's favourite, for the pope himself makes special provision for his holding them: "Indult to John Maunsell that for three years he shall not be cited by papal or legatine letters touching his benefices in England beyond the diocese of London, unless special mention be made of this indult."

"Provision against possible defects in the collation or reception of benefices held by John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley."

And then a very comprehensive document, covering all possible eventualities: "Confirmation to John Maunsell, Papal Chaplain, Treasurer of York, of that dignity, the Chancellorship of London, the provostship of Beverley, and all other dignities and benefices, with or without cure of souls, which he has received, with

[1] Chronicle of Melrose (Bannatyne Club), p. 179.

[2] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 355.

or without papal dispensation, supplying all defects, and granting him all dispensations necessary for holding them." [1]

Truly, a much-favoured cleric! This is anticipating somewhat, however; there will be more to say on this point later on.

More diplomatic missions were speedily in store for the indispensable John.

Gascony again claimed the king's attention, and upon the resignation of Simon de Montfort, who had not been successful in his methods as seneschal, Henry decided to go over in person. Whether he anticipated any especial peril on this journey does not appear; but before starting he made his will, and named John Maunsell one of his executors.[2]

They found Gascony in revolt, and Alfonso of Castile putting in a claim for it; so the king once more had recourse to a matrimonial union as a way out of the difficulty. He told Alfonso that he had ceded Gascony to Edward, his eldest son and heir, and proposed a marriage between his said son and Alfonso's half-sister, Eleanor.

Maunsell made two attempts at arranging this union. First, in 1253, in company with William Button, Bishop of Bath and Wells, he failed; early in the following year, however, with the Bishop of Hereford as his colleague, he successfully accomplished the king's purpose, and the marriage took place with great pomp and ceremony in Burgos Cathedral, in October, 1254.[3] Maunsell was also instrumental in obtaining certain privileges for pilgrims visiting the shrine of St. James of Compostello.

It is not surprising to find that John Maunsell, after these important and successful negotiations, received further reward and preferment. In the year 1255 he was granted "the Treasurership of

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[1] Papal Letters. Vol. i., pp. 262, 263, 269.

[2] The will is dated the Tuesday next after the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (June 29), in the year 1253: "I Henry . . . proposing to cross into Gascony, thus make my Will." The executors named include the Queen, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Maunsell, and Peter Chaceport (or Chaceporc), who was Maunsell's colleague, it will be recollected, in the task of persuading and mentally "enervating" the monks of Winchester until they agreed to accept Aylmer as their bishop; and this said Aylmer likewise appears as an executor (designated as "elect of Winchester"), with several others; there are no witnesses named.

[3] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 450.

York, with the prebend annexed thereto."[1] He already held a prebend, of less importance, in York, and this is passed on to Master Rostand, papal chaplain. The treasurership, it should be noted, was vacant through the death of John de Romeyn, and *in the king's gift by reason of the voidance of the Archbishopric of York;* an opportune occasion of vicarious beneficence to a favourite, of which there are innumerable instances. The late archbishop, Walter de Grey, had held the post since the year of Henry's accession.

The office of Treasurer of York is thus described in Drake's "Eboracum," p. 567:

"The treasurership in this cathedral church is the last of the four great dignitaries (the others being the Dean, the Precentor, and the Chancellor); but was equal in value with the first. . . . To the office of the treasurer did belong the custody of the church, and cognizance to hear and determine all excesses committed therein, except they be done in the choir, and then their corrections belong to the dean and chapter. This officer ought to find lights and candles to burn in the choir at the great altar, and on Our Lady's altar, on special anniversary days, with other lights of daily use in the church elsewhere. He ought to find coals, and salt for the holy water; to repair the copes and vestments belonging to the church, and to provide new ones as need shall require; to provide hangings for the choir and pulpit, and other ornaments of the church. To find bread and wine for all masses celebrated in the church, and at other communions at Easter. To find bell ropes and other necessaries about the bells, as works of brass, iron, wood, etc., and other new work about them, which appertains to the chapter in common.

"The ancient oath of the treasurer was faithfully to keep and observe the lawful customs of the church; to defend its liberties to the utmost of his power. To keep inviolably the secrets of the chapter, and to conserve and support all burdens of the church according to the quality of the benefice which he either hath or shall have in the same, when it shall be, by the chapter, required.

"The ancient valuation of this treasurership was accounted

at	£233	06	08	
In the king's books. Firstfruits	220	00	00	
Tenths	23	06	08"	

The value in Maunsell's case thus appears to have been £243, or 364 marks.

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls; the Patent is actually dated Jan 2, 1256.

A list of the treasurers is given, with approximate years of appointment, as follows :

11—	Radulphus.
11—	William Fitzherbert.
1141.	Hugo Pudsey.
—	John.
1186.	Bucardus de Puteace.
1196.	Eustachius.
12—	Hamo.
12—	William.
1239.	William de Rutherfield.
1241.	Robert Hagett.
125 -	John Mancel [*sic*].
126 -	Henry.

Maunsell was therefore the eleventh in succession. One cannot help wondering how he contrived to perform the duties enumerated above ; it is to be presumed that he provided a deputy in office, while personally responsible for expenditure ; he could not certainly have been very much on the spot.

In the year 1255 Maunsell was again in request as an ambassador concerning matrimonial affairs. On this occasion, however, he was not required to arrange a royal alliance, but to intervene on behalf of the young King of Scotland and his wife, who complained bitterly of the truculence of Robert Ross and John Baliol, knights, and of the indignities which the royal couple suffered at their hands. Henry assembled a military force and marched for Scotland ; but before he took any decisive measures he despatched Maunsell and Richard, Earl of Gloucester, in advance, to see what could be effected by diplomacy.

Hearing that the king and queen were at the Castle of Damsels —being, in fact, prisoners therein, but not permitted any intercourse— Maunsell and Gloucester proceeded thither, and cleverly obtained admission by representing themselves as humble retainers of the household of Robert Ross, their armed escort having been ordered to follow at some distance. Once inside, they quickly gained access to the queen, who poured forth a long tale of grievances, including forcible separation from her husband ; and the men-at-arms having then arrived, the two envoys were in a position to take a strong line

on behalf of the King of England. They soothed and consoled the weeping queen, promising that due punishment should be inflicted upon the offenders; and, says Matthew Paris, "they at once arranged matters for the King and Queen of Scotland to sleep together in one bed, as man and wife," which is pretty good evidence of the success of their mission.

Robert Ross was stripped of his lands; but John Baliol, who was very wealthy, "craftily made peace with the king, by supplying him in his necessity with money." [1]

Having thus arranged everything peaceably, King Henry returned southward; "and on the road," as Matthew Paris quaintly remarks, "he visited abbeys and priories, commending himself to the prayers of the prelates, and at the same time enriching himself with their money." [2] Maunsell was subsequently entrusted, together with the Earl of Gloucester and others, with the safe conduct of the King and Queen of Scotland to the English court.

In January, 1256, after his formal appointment as Treasurer of York, Maunsell was sent, with Bertram de Croyil, to arrange for the prolongation of the truce with the King of France; and during his absence the king wrote him a long letter, which is of interest as further illustrating the unbounded confidence which Henry placed in his councillor; but it cannot be here discussed in detail. [3]

After his return, on the occasion of the visit of the King and Queen of Scotland to London, Maunsell asked permission to entertain the two kings and queens, with all their attendants, at a banquet; and his request being granted, he gave an entertainment upon such a huge scale as to elicit comment, more or less charged with envy and innuendo, from several quarters. This is the only occasion upon which we are given any clue as to the position of Maunsell's house in London; from the account of this banquet it appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Westminster, at Tothill Fields, in earlier days a mere marsh, but at that period an open space, used sometimes for

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 505.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[3] *Vide* "Royal and other Historical Letters, etc.," edited by Shirley. Vol. ii., p. 116

tournaments. The former site of Tothill Fields prison is now occupied by the Catholic Cathedral of Westminster. Here John Maunsell welcomed his royal and other guests. The house was incapable of accommodating them all, but marquees were erected on the open ground, and it is said that "seven hundred dishes were scarcely sufficient for the first course; and never, at any time, was any prelate known to be able to provide such a rich and abundant feast; for all were supplied with an abundance of every kind of luxury."[1]

An excusable piece of "swagger," perhaps; a courtier from his youth, Maunsell would naturally avail himself of the opportunity of entertaining his sovereign, and the royal guests of the English court. That he should be able to afford such a prodigious feast need scarcely be an occasion of surprise, seeing how benefices and high offices had been showered upon him; but there is an obvious sneer in the concluding remark both of Matthew Paris and John Stow: never before was any prelate or chaplain known to have given such a feast.

The King and Queen of Scotland no doubt welcomed these festive distractions, for they had no peace or comfort at home; and it was not long after this banquet that Maunsell was again sent to patch up their affairs for them, charged with authority to call upon the barons and others of York, Lancaster, etc., to arm, if necessary, in defence of the Scots king; and a year later he was once more despatched, in company with the Earl of Hereford and others, upon a similar mission, which was brought to a somewhat futile and unsatisfactory termination by an unexpected display of force on the part of the Scottish malcontents. However, they patched up a peace, and so each returned to his home.[2]

Maunsell also figures about this time upon more than one occasion as intercessor with the king on behalf of evil-doers who had incurred the most extreme penalties. One of these was the Sheriff of Northampton, who had been guilty of a cruel and treacherous

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 575. Stow's Chronicle, p. 191.

[2] "Chronica de Mailros" (Bannatyne Club), pp. 183-4.

crime towards a herdsman and his employer. Maunsell so pitied the sheriff's wife in her distress that he added his entreaties to those of the King and Queen of Scotland, to whom the unhappy lady had already appealed; and the guilty sheriff was "granted life and limb," though against the king's will, "and as it were on compulsion." [1]

In January, 1258, Maunsell, together with the steward, Imbert Pugeys, and the clerk of the wardrobe, was deputed to investigate charges against Ralph Hardel, lord mayor, and sundry aldermen, of misappropriation of certain funds, and extortion from the citizens; with the result that these officials were dismissed. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls the mayor, sheriff, and aldermen are said to have levied "tallage from the people of London in the sum of one thousand marks," and to have pocketed the balance over and above the sum of three hundred marks, which they had expended in presents to the king and Prince Edward. Matthew Paris apparently alludes to a different matter, about the same time, stating that some well-to-do persons had appropriated moneys collected for the repair of the walls, and levied tallage to supply the amount; that they were accused and convicted, and were with difficulty delivered from the peril of death by the intercession of John Maunsell, being compelled, however, to refund the money.[2] It is an agreeable trait in Maunsell's character that he appears to have been ready upon every occasion to use his great influence on behalf of persons who were in any sort of trouble. These men seem, indeed, to have been very dirty rascals, but the penalty of death was perhaps excessive, though it was inflicted, in those days, for lighter offences than this. John was in advance of his times in the matter of humanity.

There is a long detailed account of these proceedings in Fabyan's Chronicle, the important part played by John Maunsell being prominently set forth. The relation concludes with the words: "And soon after was the fore named John Maunsell made Knight, and Chief Justice of England." [3] Fabyan wrote his Chronicle in

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 577 *et seq.*

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III., 1247-1258, p. 614. "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 663.

[3] "The New Chronicles of England and France," by Robert Fabyan; pp. 340-43. Ed. 1811.

the sixteenth century; it is, of course, of considerable value, as are all the writings of these old chroniclers; but he appears to have been in error in this instance. It is pointed out by Foss that Maunsell is never alluded to in contemporary State documents otherwise than as Treasurer of York, or Provost of Beverley, whereas those who, both before and after this year, held the office of Lord Chief Justice were designated in such documents "Justitiarius Angliæ";[1] it is, indeed, inconceivable that mention of such high office should be omitted, and the far less eminent ecclesiastical appointments retained.

Maunsell had meanwhile been engaged at intervals upon important foreign missions; he went, with the Earl of Gloucester, to ascertain the true state of feeling in Germany towards Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had been elected King of Germany. They found all things favourable. On the return journey they were waylaid by the French, who were exceedingly jealous and apprehensive about Richard's election, but contrived to get through safely. Richard was selected by the Germans, as Matthew Paris tells us, on account of his fidelity, firmness, and wisdom, as also on account of his wealth. There are some ugly stories told as to the methods by which he enriched himself, but there was no need of these being related to his future subjects.

Meanwhile, troubles accumulated for the English king; the Welsh were having everything practically their own way on the borders. In September, 1257, Henry marched to Chester, and thence to Gannoch, remaining for some weeks; but the expedition effected only a "peace without honour," and a further depletion of the treasury, for which heavy taxes were imposed. The pope was clamouring for payment of his dues, the crops had been ruined by bad weather, cattle-plague had ravaged the herds, the Welsh were triumphing under Llewellyn, the people were almost starving in many places, and the exchequer was void of funds.

Such was the state of affairs at the commencement of the year 1258. The king, on April 9, met his Parliament, told them all his

[1] "The Judges of England," by Edward Foss. Vol. ii., p. 153. 1848.

perplexities, and demanded a large grant, which was refused, with the comment that his difficulties arose entirely from his own folly. On the 28th Henry announced in Parliament his intention of taking a third of all property, with the result that on the 30th the barons appeared before him in full armour, and Henry was practically compelled to swear that he would submit to the guidance and control of a committee of twenty-four, who would draw up certain reforms.

On June 11 the king met the barons at Oxford; they came fully armed, with their retainers, in readiness for an expedition into Wales. This meeting has been dubbed "The Mad Parliament"; certainly folly amounting almost to madness on the king's part had led up to it. The outcome was the appointment of a council of twenty-four, half from either side, with a party of fifteen as a kind of executive committee.

John Maunsell was one of the twelve selected from the king's adherents, and was also one of the *three* on the king's side in the select fifteen; the barons appeared to be determined to have a good working majority there!

The twelve members of the council on the king's side were, according to Fabyan, as follows: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Worcester, Sir Roger Bigod (Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England), Sir Simon de Montfort (Earl of Leicester), Sir Richard Clare (Earl of Gloucester), Sir Humphry Bohun (Earl of Hereford, Warwick, and Arundel), Sir John Maunsell (Chief Justice of England), Sir Roger Mortimer, Sir Hugh Bigod, Sir Peter de Savoy, Sir James Audley, and Sir Peter de Montfort.[1]

Fabyan also states that, not long afterwards, strife arose between the king and the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, by reason of these latter superseding certain holders of office by substitutes, presumably favourites of their own, among whom was John Maunsell, who "was discharged of his office, and Sir Hugh Bigod then admitted for him."

The "office" here alluded to is obviously that of lord chief

[1] Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 343. The chronicler is probably in error, as has already been noted, in styling Maunsell Lord Chief Justice. Also, Sir Humphrey Bohun was now Earl of Arundel; that title was held at this time by John Fitzalan, if by anyone: he did not claim it.

justice, or chief justiciar, as Hugh Bigod was, according to Lord Campbell, appointed just at this time to that post. Campbell also appears to recognise John Maunsell as lord chief justice, for after allusion to some others who had held the office, he proceeds: "All that is related of Philip Lovel, who followed, is that when he was thrust out of office by the Barons, he died of grief. Concerning John Maunsel, whom the Barons substituted as Chief Justiciar, I have already told all that is memorable, as he had before filled the office of Lord Chancellor." [1]

Campbell is, however, in error with regard to Philip Lovel: the office from which he was ejected by the barons was that of king's treasurer; [2] and it is probable that he is also mistaken as to the appointment of Maunsell to the post of chief justiciar; there is no official record of his having held it. Lord Campbell perhaps accepted Fabyan's statement, though he gives no reference.

About this time John Maunsell founded a monastery at Bilsington, near Romney, for canons regular; or, more properly speaking, it was completed at this time, having been originally founded, according to the charter, in the year 1253.[3]

The manor of Bilsington Superior and East Bilsington came to Maunsell through Roger de Somerie, who had acquired it through his marriage with one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Hugh d'Albini, Earl of Arundel. He gave this manor, and his whole land of Polre, and Gozehale, and Ecche, for the foundation and endowment of this house, to be holden by William, whom he made prior, and the canons therein serving God, in free, pure and perpetual alms for ever; and he furthermore decreed that they should have the right to elect their own priors, without the license of anyone.[4]

Matthew Paris says that Maunsell founded this religious house, "prudently reflecting that the king's favour is not hereditary, or worldly prosperity of lasting duration"; also following the example of Peter Chacepork (who had founded a religious house in Bucks).

[1] "Lives of the Chief Justices," by Lord Campbell. Vol. i., p. 55.

[2] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 719. Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III., Nov. 2, 1258.

[3] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., p. 690. Mon. Angl. Vol. ii., p. 333.

[4] Hasted's "History of Kent." Vol. iii., p. 470.

BILSINGTON PRIORY, KENT.

Founded by John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, in 1253.

The Oxford Provisions appeared likely for a time to secure some respite from dissensions at home, and Henry busied himself in trying to negotiate a more permanent state of peace abroad. In April, 1259, John Maunsell, Simon de Montfort, and others were sent to France with this end in view, and also to arrange, if possible, a marriage between the king's daughter Beatrice and John of Brittany. In November the king went over in person to ratify these agreements; but the terms of the treaty were unpopular both at home and abroad, and John Maunsell, as one of the principals in the negotiations, came in for more than his share of odium. Some of his enemies maligned him to the pope. In the year 1260 Prince Edward openly quarrelled with his father, and Henry shut himself up in the Tower, Maunsell and the Earl of Gloucester being the only councillors admitted to his presence.

Maunsell's enemies apparently brought various charges against him, which caused the pope to write to King Henry; the abuse of his office to obtain pluralities from the king, and an alleged scandal at York with a proctor were among these representations. The king, in a letter to the pope, explains that his devotion to the Holy See does not run the length of submitting to interference with his rights in the matter of presenting to vacant benefices; and furthermore that John Maunsell cannot have been guilty of the alleged beating of a proctor at York, as he was at that time in London upon the king's business.[1]

Henry returned to England about Easter, 1260, bringing John Maunsell with him, his return being hastened by the barons' insistence upon holding the Easter Parliament in London, whether the king were present or not.

The king and his son were reconciled, but there was more trouble brewing; the barons, with Simon de Montfort at their head, were gaining in strength and confidence; and Henry, in 1261, had recourse—it is alleged by the counsel of John Maunsell—to the expedient of praying the pope to grant him dispensation from his solemn oath with regard to the "Oxford Provisions."[2]

[1] "Royal and other Historical Letters," by Shirley. Vol. i., pp. 145-6.

[2] Annales Monastici. Vol. iv., p. 128.

These things were unfortunately done in those days, and this is no place for an essay or discussion upon the subject. This consummation of political trickery naturally aroused a storm of fierce indignation, both against the king and his chief councillor. So menacing and determined was the attitude of the barons that Henry was compelled to dismiss Maunsell from his council; and the latter, fully alive to the peril in which he stood, shut himself up in the Tower. His banishment did not, however, last very long, for he shortly contrived once more to join the king at Winchester, and returned with him to London, fully reinstated as chief councillor, in fact, if not in name.

He was deputed to act on the king's behalf in the disputes between Henry and the Earl and Countess of Leicester, and subsequently, at the instance or command of the pope, he conveyed to Hugh Bigod the intimation that he was forthwith, on pain of excommunication, to deliver to the king the castles of Scarborough and Pickering.[1] Bigod, however, declined to recognise the papal authority in the matter, declaring that he had received his castles from the king, and at the king's command alone would he restore them. What might have been the upshot of this affair there is no saying; in the face of more serious matters it was apparently allowed to drop.[2]

It was obvious that civil war was imminent, though neither side was prepared at the moment for the commencement of hostilities; and a final effort was made to arrive at an agreement by means of reference to six arbitrators, three to be selected by either side, with Richard of Cornwall as further, and Louis of France as final referee.

This was in December, 1261; and John Maunsell was once more appointed one of the king's representatives. But it was from the first a hopeless business, and Maunsell was again the subject of accusation at Rome. In January, 1262, it was reported to the Roman Curia that he had been stirring up strife between the king

[1] Royal and Historical Letters. Vol. ii., p. 175.

[2] Rymer, "Foedera." Vol. i., p. 408.

and his subjects. It was not true, except in so far that he remained loyal to the king, and that his influence carried great weight in the royal counsels, while at the same time he did not hesitate to endorse Henry's initiative in such a matter as the appeal to Rome concerning the Oxford Provisions; he has, indeed, been accused of originating it, but of this there does not appear to be direct evidence.

These matters were adequate enough in rousing the further fury of the barons against Maunsell; but the king immediately wrote a very strong letter to the Roman Curia on his behalf. Allusion has already been made to this letter, which testifies in the most emphatic language to Maunsell's many good qualities, and declares him incapable of any such conduct.[1]

"He never at any time," writes the king, "endeavoured to set us against any noble person of our realm, or would have had dissention or a scruple of discord between us on any account, except that he has effectually and constantly stood by us (as he was bound by his fealty to do) in upholding and preserving our rights and dignity, and found the means of hindering the accomplishment of those things which seemed to be undertaken to cause trouble."

The king, in this last sentence, sums up tersely the case of the barons against John Maunsell; he was all too fertile in expedients for hindering the accomplishment of designs which clashed with the views of his royal master. Whether his unswerving loyalty and adoption of Henry's designs was always for the good of the realm may well be questioned; the "things which seemed to be undertaken to cause trouble" presented a very different aspect in the eyes of those who were endeavouring to counteract the effects of the king's folly and obstinacy, and his repeated breach of faith.

The pope, however, appears to have received favourably Henry's refutation of the charges against Maunsell, to whom he wrote a cordial letter, saying that the king had spoken highly of him, and admonishing him to continue to merit such praise, and to be constant in his devotion to the Church.[2]

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[1] Royal and Historical Letters. Vol. ii., p. 206.

[2] Papal Letters. Vol. i., App. (619).

Maunsell had meanwhile been busy in obtaining from the new pope, Urban IV., confirmation of the king's dispensation from his Oxford oath, and thereby stimulated further the fury of the barons against him; nor was this likely to be mitigated by Maunsell's association with Simon de Walton, Bishop of Norwich, in proclaiming excommunication against all who refused to acknowledge the papal pronouncement.

July, 1262, found Maunsell once more with the custody of the Great Seal. He went to France with the king in this month, returning in December; and then the barons and their followers, content no longer with wordy remonstrances and letters to the pope, commenced to make reprisals by acts of open violence—spoliation of lands and other properties, and threats of personal peril.

This was practically the outbreak of civil war, and Maunsell, aware that he was the especial object of hatred on the part of the king's enemies, once more took refuge in the Tower, until he could seize the opportunity of escaping abroad. This he did in company with the queen and Prince Edmund; and, so far as is known for certain, this was the last occasion upon which he was to cross the Strait.

This was towards the end of the year 1263; in January following Henry, once more in France, and in consultation with St. Louis, to whom, as final arbitrator, the disagreements between the English monarch and his subjects were referred, obtained from the former a verdict in his favour, after a conference at Amiens, where he issued the document known as the Mise of Amiens, by which the papal dispensation was upheld, and the Provisions of Oxford declared void and of no effect.

This deed was executed on January 24, 1264, and was witnessed by King Henry and his queen, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, Bishop of Hereford, and John Maunsell.[1]

The king returned to England, leaving Maunsell to complete the negotiations with Louis of France. Civil war immediately ensued: Henry obtained a victory at Northampton on April 5,

[1] Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. Vol. i., p. 60.

but was vanquished at Lewes on May 14, when Simon de Montfort became practically ruler of England, and dictated terms to the king which were embodied in the document entitled the Mise of Lewes, and by which Henry undertook to perform all that he had repudiated on the strength of the papal dispensation. It was a miserable business, and nothing is to be gained by enlarging upon it here; we are chiefly concerned with the fortunes of John Maunsell, who was in France with Queen Eleanor.

The queen was not disposed to sit down under defeat. With the advice and assistance of Maunsell and others she assembled at the beginning of August a force with the object of invading and conquering England; but the English ports were well guarded by numerous horse and foot, and the project came to nought.[1]

This is the last that is heard of John Maunsell as a living man. On January 20 following (1265), according to the chronicles already quoted, "Johannes Maunsel, domini regis consiliarius, circa festum Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani, mundum cum vita reliquit."[2]

This plain and straightforward statement, occurring in a collection of historical relations which have always been accepted as trustworthy, would appear to place the date of John Maunsell's death as the 20th—or about the 20th—January, 1265, beyond reasonable doubt, this being the feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian.

There appears, however, to have existed in some quarters a determination to have a mystery about the matter; and there is, indeed, but scanty evidence available as to the place of his death or the circumstances under which he died.

The writer in the Dict. Nat. Biog. gives the date of Maunsell's death as above, and quotes the Chronicles as evidence; but he also quotes the "Chronica de Mailros" in support of the statement. Now, this latter document makes the announcement under the year 1268, as follows: "Obiit Johannes Maunsel in partibus transmarinis in paupertate et dolore maximo." This is more circumstantial than the other, but the year, as will be presently demonstrated, is wrong;

[1] Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. Vol. i., p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

yet the Dict. Nat. Biog. quotes the two side by side, in spite of the direct contradiction, and attributes the Melrose chronicler's tale of poverty and woe to both.

Mr. W. W. Mansell, in spite of the absolute lack of evidence as to the year of John Maunsell's birth, asserts that he was about seventy years of age, and proceeds: "Circumstantial evidence shows that he went to York, and died there between December 14, 1264, and February 7, 1265," etc. He bases this statement upon the letters of protection granted to one John Maunsell, December 14, 1264, and the appointment of his successor to the provostship of Beverley, February 7, 1265. This grant of protection to John Maunsell to live upon his benefices has before been alluded to in these pages; it was granted to "John Maunsell the Elder," but it is by no means certain that he is identical with the Provost of Beverley. At this time Henry was practically the prisoner of Simon de Montfort, and John Maunsell would scarcely expect to enjoy much peace and quiet in his benefices under the circumstances, *malgré* the grant of protection. The point is not of very much consequence, however; Mr. Mansell is on firm ground with regard to the later limit which he assigns for Maunsell's death. As for the "circumstantial evidence" that he went to York and died there, and was buried in York Minster, it is not easy to see whence it arises. It is true that certain lands were bestowed upon the Minster in order that masses might there be offered for the repose of his soul; but this would have been done in any case, and constitutes no proof whatever that his remains reposed there: as a prominent official of the Church, it would be a matter of course.

Mr. R. G. Maunsell has quite a different story to tell; he says that "about the year 1263 Maunsell was named one of the executors to the king's will, and as his name does not again appear in state affairs, it is thought that he died in that year." Reference follows to the appointment of his successor at Beverley, February 7, 1265, and the writer continues: "as already stated, his widow, Felicia, held the lands of Rossington in dower in 1263, it follows that he must have died in that year. He was buried at York Minster," etc. This is very superficial reasoning, and entirely misleading. To begin with, Maunsell's name does appear later than 1263, in the Calendar of Patent

Rolls, Henry III., 1258-1266, p. 377, as witness to a charter, on January 16, 1264; and the assumption that he married Felicia de Millers is condemned by this same evidence. It is based upon an entry in the Fine Rolls, which runs as follows: "Felicia who was wife of John Maunsell gives half a mark for having charter at term before the justice *in banco* (of certain messages and lands in Rossington, Co. Derby) within fifteen days from Easter."[1] The year, as officially stated, is 47 Henry III., which ended *October* 27, 1263: therefore Felicia was a widow before Easter in that year, and obviously could not have been widow of John Maunsell the provost, who witnessed a deed in January following. The categorical statement in the Chronicles of Edward I. and Edward II. appears to have altogether escaped the author's notice, though it tallies obviously with the appointment of Maunsell's successor on February 7, 1265.

There does not appear to be any reasonable doubt that Maunsell died about January 20, 1265; as to the place of his death, there is no adequate evidence available. The Chronicle of Melrose says that he died abroad, in great poverty and misery; but as the year of his death is certainly given wrong, the other statement stands more or less discredited; and indeed, it is extremely improbable that Maunsell died in poverty. He may have died abroad; perhaps it is even probable that he did; but it appears quite impossible to produce any precise evidence one way or the other. The short space of time which elapsed between his death (as recorded in "Annales Londeniensi") on or about January 20, and the appointment of his successor on February 7, seems to favour the assumption that he died in England: on the other hand, it is quite possible that January 20 was the date upon which the news of his death was received.

Whatever may have been the precise date, the actual fact of John Maunsell's death is recorded in the Patent Rolls:

"Grant to Amaury de Monte Forti, the king's nephew, of the treasurership of York, void by the death of John Maunsel, and in the King's gift by reason of the voidance of the Archbishopric of York;

[1] "Excerpta e Rotulis Finium." Vol. ii., p. 394.

with mandate to the dean and chapter of York to assign him a stall in the choir and a place in the chapter.

"Grant to Master John de Chichehull, Archdeacon of London, of the provostship of Beverle void by the death of the said John Maunsel, with mandate to the chapter to assign him a stall in the choir and a place in the chapter." [1]

Two points remain to be dealt with—to wit, his possessions and financial position at the time of his death, and his heirs.

That John Maunsell was a very wealthy man, according to the standards of his day, there can be no question; and in dwelling upon the fact his chroniclers confine themselves almost entirely to comment upon the large income which he drew from his numerous benefices. These are variously estimated in number from 70 to 300—one writer puts them at 700, which is a ridiculous exaggeration. As to these statements, there is no means of applying an adequate test; certainly the Patent Rolls, and other documents which record officially the bestowal of benefices upon him, do not account for anything approaching these numbers, though they bear out the statement of one writer that he was probably the greatest pluralist on record.

The "Chronica de Mailros," after the announcement of his death, proceeds: "This wretched man had obtained so many benefices, that he was able to spend eighteen thousand marks per annum"—a sum which is equivalent to twelve thousand pounds sterling, and represented, of course, an enormous income in those days.[2] The same writer also states that Maunsell had refused the offer of bishoprics, as he reckoned that he would not be as well off as he was with his pluralities; also, that being offered a living with the moderate stipend of twenty pounds, he had remarked, "This little living will do for my dogs." The Melrose chronicler was no friend of Maunsell's, and these statements must be accepted *cum grano salis*.

Matthew Paris is more moderate in his estimate of Maunsell's wealth; in one place he remarks that "his riches attained to

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, 49 Henry III., Feb. 7.

[2] "Chronica de Mailros" (Bannatyne Club), p. 214.

episcopal proportions," and in another he attributes to him the possession of seventy livings, with an income of four thousand marks.[1]

The most important living—irrespective of other ecclesiastical offices, such as Chancellor of St. Paul's, Treasurer of York, and Provost of Beverley—held by Maunsell was that of Wigan, where, as has already been noted, he held the manor as part of the benefice, and obtained for the town a free charter, and the right to hold certain annual fairs and markets. This is an unusual, though not an unique combination, and always probably enhances considerably the value of the living. The ancient parish of Wigan includes no less than thirteen separate townships. It is not certain when John Maunsell became Rector of Wigan, but it was probably between the years 1242 and 1245—just about the time, in fact, when he obtained from Pope Innocent IV. that dispensation from the disabilities of his birth, by which he had, so far, been debarred from full orders. The first official mention of Maunsell as Parson of Wigan occurs in the Calendar of Charter Rolls, August 26, 30 Henry III. (1246), when the king concedes "to his beloved and faithful John Maunsell, Parson of the Church of Wyain, that his town of Wygain shall be a borough for ever, and that the burgesses shall have a guild-merchant and other the liberties and customs belonging thereto." This concession Maunsell passed on in a personal charter to the burgesses, in which he describes in detail all the rights and responsibilities involved.

Thus it comes about that, though Maunsell never resided in Wigan as rector, deputing his duties probably to a vicar, his name is held in esteem there as a benefactor in securing these privileges for the town. It is not clear what was the amount of the emoluments of the office in Maunsell's time; but in the year 1616 the income came to £566 12s. 1d.[2]

Maunsell held the living until his death, together with all those other ecclesiastical benefices already alluded to, and some also, without doubt, of which there is no precise record available. The practice of holding these pluralities was one of the scandals in the

[1] "Chronica Majora." Vol. v., pp. 129, 355.

[2] "History of the Church and Manor of Wigan." Chatham Soc. Remains, etc. (New Series). Pts. i. and ii.

Church at that time, and much later, and all the thunders of the Vatican, the efforts of bishops and others, appear to have been of but little avail in checking it. The rewarding of royal favourites in this fashion was unscrupulously practised, and John Maunsell must not be too harshly judged if he accepted such offers.

The living of Wigan, combining as it did the tenure of church and manor, forms a convenient stepping-stone to the consideration of Maunsell's temporalities.

When dealing with this subject, Mr. R. G. Maunsell alludes to "the family estates which he inherited in Beds, Bucks, Leic., etc." (p. 12). The writer is on firm ground here, from his own point of view, as he elected to ignore the papal letter which gives the history of the marriage of Maunsell's father; but his ability to inherit any such property depends upon the interpretation which is placed upon the final clause of this communication.

If, as has been freely maintained, both by contemporary and modern opinion, Maunsell's birth was irregular in a degree which constituted him a bastard, he could only have succeeded to the possession of his father's estates by virtue of direct testamentary provision. A bastard could not, and cannot, inherit anything as next-of-kin; he is regarded by the law as *quasi nullius filius*. Nor could he have any heirs except those of his own body.[1] It is significant, therefore, from this point of view, that John Maunsell did come into possession of certain lands which had been held by Walter—to wit, Solebury (or Soulbury) in Bucks, and Ingpenne in Berks; also Terlington (or Tur-Langton) in Leicestershire, which was held by his grandfather, Sir Robert, and probably also by Walter. The latter may, of course, have devised these lands to John by his will; but in the absence of any evidence to that effect, it is quite reasonable to assume that John inherited them as next-of-kin, which would involve the acceptance of the pope's conditional recognition of the regularity of his birth.

It is impossible to deal satisfactorily with the question after such a lapse of time. The assertions of interested contemporary

[1] "Nullum heredem habuere potest, nisi de corpore suo habuit heredem." Glanville (*temp.* Henry II.). Liber viii., ch. 16.

BEVERLEY MINSTER.
Interior, looking West.

persons as to his bastardy must certainly be accepted with caution; nor do they appear to have succeeded in convincing the courts on the point. It will therefore be assumed here that Maunsell's birth was held to be regularised at the time, and that he inherited properties as his father's heir.

These lands, however, formed but a very small proportion of the total holdings of Maunsell; he held lands, by various services, in many counties, and there is but little evidence to show how and when he acquired them.

In Kent, besides the manor of Bilsington, he held lands at Knapswell, Polres, Ecche, Belgar, and Gozehale; in Hampshire, the manors, markets, and fairs of Berghton and Menestoke; in Sussex, the manors of Wepham, Hyldeshe, and Sedgwick; in York, that of Tidderlighe; in Suffolk, the manor and free warren of Erleigh and Raleigh, and also at Benham and Berton. In Leicestershire, the manor and free manor of Terlington (Tur-Langton); in Wilts, at Merston; in Berks, at Westildeste; in Shropshire, at Lega Cambrey; in Norfolk he had the moiety of the town of Hempstede; in Essex, at Saldeford, East Tilbury, Bermand, in the Hundred of Bockingtree, and at Sturmere; and by a charter 33 Henry III. he had "free warren in all his demesnes which he has in the counties of York, Berks, Herts, Sussex, Southampton."

He also received at various times the wardship of minors and marriages; every possible form of lucrative guardianship or similar office appears to have been showered upon him.

Nor was he forgotten in the matter of important and responsible offices, other than the ecclesiastical "plums" already enumerated. In 1261 he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London, which was perhaps the highest temporal gift which the king had to bestow.

He is also said to have been Constable of Dover Castle; but as to this there is no official evidence forthcoming. Mr. R. G. Maunsell says he obtained this appointment in the year 1226; this statement may be based upon the testimony of the Rev. Wm. Darell, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who wrote a history of Dover Castle, and on p. 29 has the following: "Further on, towards the east,

appears the stately tower of Avranche, connecting the two curtains; but it afterwards took the name of Maunsell, who succeeded Avranche, and whose arms, elegantly cut, are placed over the gate."

This William de Avranche, or Avrenches, was Constable of the Castle, 10 Henry III. (1226); it does not appear how long he held the appointment, but the next mention of the name of the constable is in 16 Henry III. (1232), when Bertram de Crioil held the office,[1] being appointed at Michaelmas in that year. This would appear to indicate that Avrenches held it during the interim; but the deduction is doubtful, as the records are somewhat vague about this time. Subsequently, however, the names of successive constables are given with scarcely a break; changes became very frequent as the relations between Henry and the barons became more strained; and there is no mention of any Maunsell having been constable.

It appears, indeed, highly improbable that Maunsell should have held this very important command eight years before he was accorded a more or less subordinate position in the Exchequer, and when he was, presumably, only five or six-and-twenty years of age.

The Rev. S. H. P. Statham, in his "History of the Castle, Town, and Port of Dover," includes the name of John Mansel in a list of reputed Constables of the Castle whose appointments he has been unable to verify, and whom he consequently holds as doubtful. Furthermore, there is no indication at the present day of any coat-of-arms over the gateway of the tower in question, nor is it at all probable that Maunsell, during the short period of his tenure of the command, would have had his coat-of-arms carved there—if, indeed, he held the post at all.

There would appear to have been a Maunsell connected with Dover Castle, either as constable or lieutenant; but of official evidence there is no trace; and the period at which the alleged connection existed renders it very doubtful whether John Maunsell the Provost of Beverley was the man.

The testimony of William Darell, in the sixteenth century,

[1] "Charters of the Cinque Ports," by Samuel Jeake, p. 48.

cannot, however, be logically ruled out as entirely devoid of foundation; he may be correct as to the fact, but wrong as to the period at which Maunsell held the post. (Darell was probably related by marriage with Dame Darell, a contemporary, who married Philip, son of Sir Rhys Mansel; very possibly he was her brother-in-law.) The statement may therefore be permitted to stand as probably correct in substance, though unsupported by evidence.

Maunsell appears, with characteristic thoroughness, to have set about making good structural and other defects in the Tower, for on September 12, 1261, there is a "Grant to J. Maunsel, Treasurer of York, to whom the King lately committed the Tower of London, and who has to pay many heavy expenses about the keeping, that the King will make competent satisfaction to him or his assigns for his reasonable expenses laid out in the keeping of the Tower"; and only eight days later, on September 20: "Promise to John Maunsell, Treasurer of York . . . who will have to make great expenses about the keeping on account of the dissension between the King and the barons, to pay his reasonable expenses in the keeping."

Henry, as we know, was weak in the matter of keeping his promises; hence perhaps this second pledge, in reply to a more urgent representation from Maunsell. It is to be hoped that he was not finally left out of pocket over the business!

In the turmoil of the Civil War, and following his flight from England, Maunsell's possessions saw some vicissitudes of tenure. By a patent of July 18, 1263, there is "Commitment to Peter de Monte Forti of the Manor of John Maunsell of Sedgwick with the fortalice and its appurtenances, until the King order the same to be restored to the said John." There is an interlineation on the patent, "Afterwards thus: until the said John return and the King restore the same to him."

On August 1, 1263: "Grant to Simon de Monte Forti the younger of all lands late of John Maunsell in England, to hold until the said John return to England, and the King restore them to him."

Reference has already been made to the alleged holding of the Manor of Sedgwick by Sir Robert Maunsell the Crusader, in 1163 or

thereabouts.[1] Concerning this point there is nothing more to be said, but the manner in which Sedgwick passed to John Maunsell is clearly indicated by an official record, and altogether disposes of the inference that he inherited it from his grandfather.

In the second volume of the publications of the Sussex Record Society, "Feet of fines for the County of Sussex," p. 121, Fine No. 450, there is the transcription of a covenant between John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, through his attorney Richard de Furneaus, and Robert le Sauvage, through Richard de Rysing, concerning the manors of Bradwatre (Broadwater), Wurthing (Worthing), Sedgwick and Garmigeleg(?) in the county of Sussex, and the manor of Steyneby in the county of Derby. By this covenant Robert renounces all rights in the said manors, and all other lands and tenements of which Robert may become possessed by inheritance: "and furthermore Robert gives up to John the aforesaid Manor of Sedgwick together with all the land which Robert has at any time held of the Abbot of Fescamp in the parishes of Northurst and Horsham, and which land is outside the enclosure of the manor of Sedgwick, with woods, fields, pastures and all other things pertaining to the said land; and likewise Robert gives up to John the entire service of Henry the Smith of Horsham and his heirs concerning the tenement which Henry holds in the aforesaid parishes, together with all that meadow which lies between the causeway of the vicar of la Knappe and the Church of Grenstead, to be held for the whole of his life, rendering one pair of white gloves or one penny at Easter for all service; and after the death of John the said Manor of Sedgwick, etc., shall revert to Robert and his heirs." (33 Henry III., 1249.)

It is thus clear that Sedgwick came into John Maunsell's hands in the year 1249; that it remained in his possession is also clear from subsequent official records.

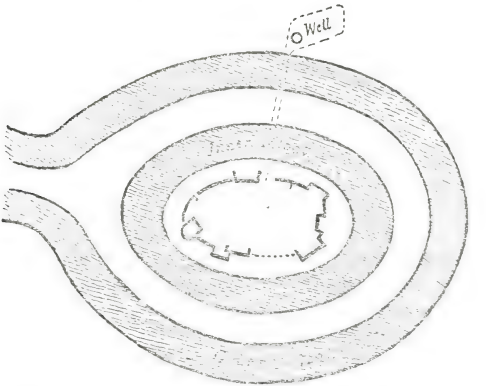
In the year 1258, on November 4, he is granted permission "to fortify his house of Sedgwick, Co. Sussex, with ditches and a wall of stone and lime, and crenellate the same."

The house was thus converted into a castle or fortress; and

[1] See *ante*, pp. 72 *et seq.*

apparently Maunsell was not satisfied with the defences constructed on this occasion, for on March 15, 1262, he is granted "License to strengthen his house of Sedgwick with ditches and a wall of stone and lime, and to crenellate and fortify his said house." (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1258 and 1262.)

What particular object Maunsell had in view in thus converting a country house into a fortified building is not apparent; possibly he foresaw troubles in the near future, and the site being



PLAN OF SEDGWICK CASTLE.

Converted from a manor-house into a fortified building by John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley.

favourable, from a military point of view, for such adaptation, he took the precaution of providing a stronghold for himself, and perhaps also for the king, in case of need. He was not, however, called upon to defend it.

Sedgwick Castle is situated about two miles from Horsham, in the parish of Broadwater, and some remains of it are still in evidence. From these it would appear that Maunsell, on the first occasion, excavated an encircling moat, and on the second added another outside the first. Double-moated houses or castles are rare,

so Sedgwick possesses a certain archæological interest from this point of view alone.

Sedgwick remained in the hands of Peter de Montfort for two months only; on September 18, 1263, there is "Mandate to Peter de Monte Forti, to whom the King committed during pleasure Master John Maunsell the younger's castle of Sedgwick, which was lately occupied by certain persons by reason of the disturbances of the realm, to deliver the castle to the said John or the bearer his attorney."

Here, it will be noted at once, the castle is restored to "Master John Maunsell the younger," from whom also it is said to have been taken.

On February 14, 1264, however, appears the following: "Restitution to John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, of his castle of Sedgwick, which on account of the late disturbance of the realm the King caused to be taken into his hands; notwithstanding a grant thereof made by the great seal while the said seal was out of the King's hands during the disturbance."

This temporary transfer of the castle from the Treasurer of York to a younger John Maunsell is not alluded to in any deed or charter; but it is possible, and even probable, that the former, on the occasion of his hurried departure abroad, may thus have placed it in the possession of a member of his family, as a precautionary measure for security of tenure; and the question immediately presents itself—what was the mutual relationship between these two Johns? Those who scout the idea of John Maunsell having ever been married would be somewhat at a loss to account for a "John Maunsell junior," who thus occupied a position which would most naturally be held by the son and heir of the absentee; but why seek for a laboured solution of the problem? It has already been demonstrated that the fact of Maunsell's orders can be reconciled with that of his marriage; and, having been married, what more natural than that he should have a son, named after himself?

Another point which is suggested by this restitution of Sedgwick to the elder John is that he returned to England, at least for a time. The restoration of his property, while he continued,

perforce, as is hinted, to reside abroad, would appear to be futile; but the movements or doings of John Maunsell during the year 1264 are wrapped in mystery.

We hear no more of Sedgwick in connection with the Maunsells after the death of the Provost of Beverley; presumably it reverted to Robert le Sauvage and his heirs, in accordance with the agreement recorded above. Robert does not appear in Testa de Nevill after this date as holding Sedgwick; he held it in 1242 of William le Braose, and in the following year of the Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, but it was seven years later when he consigned it to John Maunsell.

Preceding this act of restitution, and as an earnest of it, the following appears on February 8: "Whereas certain of the realm during the late disturbance occupied and drew away lands and fruits of churches and other goods of John Maunsell, treasurer of York, to his great damage and the lesion of the liberty of the Church, by pretext of certain letters sealed with the King's seal while that seal was out of his hand and power, and used by those who were adversaries of the king; he hereby wishes it to be known that those letters were never issued with his assent or will, for which cause he wills that amends be made to the said John, and that he recover his lands and other goods both ecclesiastical and mundane."

In other words, it was the barons, and not the king, who deprived Maunsell of his properties—which is what might have been expected; nor did he live to receive the full restitution embodied in the king's patent. It was not until the year 1268, when Henry found himself at length re-established in authority, that he ordered inquisition to be held into the depredations and robberies perpetrated during the civil war, and restitution to be made to the sufferers, or their heirs and assigns. These inquisitions, which are entitled "Pleas concerning lands given and occupied on the occasion of the disturbances in the Realm of England," include several instances in which the lands and other goods of John Maunsell have been seized or carried off, all save one in the county of Essex; and Maunsell's executors are accorded restitution, the delinquents being in some cases compelled to pay for their misdeeds under the provisions of the

"Dictum of Kenilworth."[1] The Sheriffs of Bucks, Essex, Surrey, and Somerset are directed to confirm to Ingeram de Fermes the seisin of lands formerly held from John Maunsell—presumably the Provost of Beverley.

It is not possible, under these circumstances, to say precisely of what property John Maunsell was actually possessed at the time of his death; nor is his will extant, though it is on record that he made a will, having previously obtained the king's sanction. The following patent appears under date November 12, 1265:

"Whereas the King granted to John Maunsell, treasurer of York, while he was alive, that he might make his will of his goods ecclesiastical and mundane, and his executors should have free administration of his goods, without impediment of the King by reason of any account or reckoning or by reason of any grace granted to the King by the pope touching indefinite legacies; the King wills and commands that all wardships and farms with advowsons of Churches and all profits and issues of the same and fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, together with chattels, debts, or arrears belonging to the said deceased, in whosesoever hands they be, be fully restored to Hugh le Bygod, Robert de Twenge, John de Oketon, brother Simon de Deulacresse, John de Hesel, Simon de Stanbrigg, whom he appointed to be executors of his will for the execution thereof."

John Maunsell evidently had some property and interests in Ireland, for in the Irish Patents there is the following, under date December 16, 1266: "Inspeximus of letters whereby Sir Robert de Twenge, knight, and Simon of Stanbridge, Chaplain, and the other executors of John Maunsell, late Treasurer of York, constituted Wm. de Bakepuz, Dean of Kilkenny, as their proctor in all matters throughout Ireland relating to the testator's will."

In December, 1243, the king granted to John Maunsell the

[1] The Dictum of Kenilworth was drawn up in the king's camp before Kenilworth Castle, which the barons, after the battle of Evesham, held as their final stand. It was in the nature of a compromise on Henry's part, in order to raise the siege, the barons holding out stoutly in the Castle. It included the re-enactment of the Charters and the redress of some of the grievances against which the Provisions of Oxford had been directed, and substituted, for the stern decree of absolute forfeiture against the rebels, permission to redeem their estates by the payment of a fine, assessed, in most instances, at five years' value of their lands.—"Political History of England, 1216-1377," by T. F. Tout, pp. 131-2.

custody of the land and heir of John de la Poer in Ireland; and in the same month protection for three years is granted to Hugh de Pilardinton, gone to Ireland in the service of John Maunsell.

Maunsell's name appears as witness to many documents relating to Ireland; it is notable that in several instances "Master John Maunsell" is a witness. The editor and indexer of the volume of Irish papers have assumed that this is the Provost of Beverley; but this is not so, as in one instance they both appear as witnesses to the same charter. This tends to confirm the hypothesis that the John Maunsell alluded to, in the charter concerning the lands given to him by Felicia de Millers, as "King's Clerk," and "a member of the King's household," was not John the provost.[1] Evidently there was a Master John Maunsell at hand who was considered to be a right and proper person to act as witness to important documents issued under the king's seal. The date of the Irish Patent which is subscribed by both John Maunsells is 1257; the date of the charter alluded to is 1268; Master John, king's clerk, had died meanwhile.

There is recorded an Inquisition Post Mortem, held in London in 1266. The writ to the wardens of the City of London to hold this inquisition is dated April 12; and it was held, we are told, on "Friday after Hock Day."[2] The subject of the inquisition was Master John Maunsell, and the jury found that there were "certain houses held in chief of the heir of Robert, son of Walter, by service of 9d. . . . Who is the heir of the said John the jury know not, nor whether he bequeathed the houses to Amabel de Rypon his kinswoman or not, but he could freely bequeath them according to the customs and laws of the City."[3]

In the Dict. Nat. Biog. this is referred to as "the inquisition of Mansel's estates," and it is remarked, "there is a reference to a cousin Amabilla de Rypun." A claim appears to have been made by one Amabel de Ripon, who is described as "Consanguinea," which does not necessarily mean "cousin"; it is a term somewhat

[1] See *ante*, p. 128.

[2] "Hock Day" was the second Tuesday after Easter Sunday; the origin of the term is obscure.

[3] Cal. Inq. Post Mort., Henry III. Vol. i., p. 197.

vaguely used in reports of this nature, and might mean his mother, though this is not probable.

The assumption, however, that this inquisition had reference to the estates of John the provost is quite inadmissible; he, as we have seen, had made a will, and his heirs or testamentary legatees would be named therein; and there is a grant on January 16, 1266, which casts some further light upon the matter:

"Whereas the goods of John Mansell, deceased, do not suffice to pay what he owed the King on the day of his death, the King acquits the heirs of the said John and the executors of his will of those debts and of all accounts and reckonings wherein the said John was held to the King for the time that he was in the King's service; and grants that Peter Mansell and Henry de Ripon, kinsmen of the said John, shall have free administration of all his goods,"[1] etc.

The editor or indexer of the Calendar of Patent Rolls assumes that this refers to John the provost; but it was impossible that anyone should have the administration of his goods, saving his executors, named in an official document. This grant, therefore, must refer to that same John who is named in the inquisition above cited. Peter Mansell may be brother to John the provost, and probably uncle, or perhaps cousin, to the deceased; Henry de Ripon probably a brother of Amabel, named in the inquisition. It will be observed that this document is dated a year after the death of John the provost, while the inquisition is three months later; it is most improbable that, in the case of so prominent a man, this long delay would have occurred.

It is greatly to be regretted that John Maunsell's will is not forthcoming; it would be exceedingly instructive, and would probably clear up many obscure points. In the absence of any such authentic testimony it is not easy to name his heirs, though the two family biographers have so confidently assigned him sons and daughters—differing, however, widely in their statements.

R. G. Maunsell names his eldest son as Thomas, and tells us that he held lands in Oxon in 1225, and was Escheator of Bucks in

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry III., Jan. 16, 1266.

1251, Jurator in Essex in 1255, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton in 1264. It is true that one Thomas Maunsell held lands in Tackele, Oxon, jointly with Alex. de Ovill, in 1225 or thereabouts; but a very little reflection would have shown Mr. Maunsell that, by his own genealogy, this Thomas could not have been son to John the provost, who could not have been born before about 1187 [1]—probably he was born much later—and so could not have had, in 1225, a son in man's estate, competent to hold lands of the Earl of Arundel and of the king. Furthermore, it appears as though the writer were confusing two Thomas Maunsells in this account; for a man who held lands in 1225, when he might certainly be reckoned as not less than five-and-twenty, would be considerably over sixty in 1264, which, if not an absolute disqualification for taking part in a battle, certainly introduces a grave element of doubt. This is another instance of R. G. Maunsell's assumption of relationships between various persons whose mere existence is vouched for by official documents, and his somewhat reckless disregard of generations.

This Thomas Maunsell can only be admitted as eldest son of John by ignoring the allusion to lands held in 1225, and accepting him as that Thomas who was Escheator of Bucks in 1251, Jurator in Essex in 1255, and fought at Northampton in 1264. This is feasible enough, and perhaps even probable; but there is absolutely no proof of his parentage. He held one knight's fee at Shenlee, or Shenley, in Bucks, which it is probable that John Maunsell held; but it is not certain that he did so.

The case of John Maunsell, junior, who is placed by R. G. Maunsell as second son, is almost equally vague. It is not recorded that he was in possession of any of John Maunsell's lands after the death of the latter; but the fact that Sedgwick is named as "his" castle for a time, during John's absence, must be held to be strong testimony in favour of his being John's son—perhaps his second son, Thomas having thrown in his lot with the barons. There is no record of Sedgwick having been held by the Maunsells after the death

[1] See *ante*, p. 98

of John the provost; it had certainly passed out of their possession a little later.

W. W. Mansell writes with equal confidence on the matter of John Maunsell's sons, whom he cites as Thomas, Henry, and William; and he likewise comes to grief over his records concerning Thomas. John Maunsell, he tells us, came to England with other orators from the King of Scotland, in 1215, when he must certainly have been at least five-and-twenty, probably older; furthermore, we are told "he had scarcely emerged from the state of boyhood, when he married Seraphina," by whom he had these three sons. That is to say, he had already been married for some five or six years before he came, as is alleged, from Scotland, in 1215; a lad who "has scarcely emerged from the state of boyhood" must be reckoned as certainly not more than twenty. Mr. Mansell does not tell us how long after his marriage Thomas was born, but it is reasonable to assume that this was before the year 1215; it would be most unusual that there should be no issue until after five years or so of married life; and yet Mr. Mansell tells us that this Thomas was one of the "Fideles of Ireland" in 1302. Certainly these two family historians are resolved to exhibit this Thomas Maunsell as a remarkable instance of longevity, and of active participation in affairs of state at a very advanced age; and, it will be noted, Mr. W. W. Mansell is here given every advantage: the assumption that a man who took part in an important State deputation was only five-and-twenty years of age is almost unreasonable.

The analysis of these records, if they can be so termed, leaves us therefore but little nearer to any decision concerning John Maunsell's issue; all these persons, Thomas, John, Henry, Walter, Galfridus, Richard, no doubt existed at the period named, save in respect of those allegations which have been dealt with above; but the evidence which connects them with John Maunsell is of the slenderest possible nature.

All that can be said on the matter is, that there is no inherent improbability in the assumption that John Maunsell had for his eldest son Thomas, and that John was his second son; the genealogy will be continued on this hypothesis, from Thomas, in the main line.

There will be more to say about some of his alleged brothers a little later.

Thus passed away this remarkable courtier and statesman.

The impression left by the close scrutiny of his public career is that of a man of singular capacity and acumen, a born leader, of high moral and physical courage, absolutely faithful to his sovereign, constant to his friends, and ever disposed to use his high influence on the side of moderation and humanity; his intervention on behalf of Henry de Bathe was an heroic example of this disposition.

The reign of Henry III. was a long series of deplorable errors and inconsistencies, resulting in disaster to his subjects, and culminating in a bloody and horrible civil war; but it may well be questioned whether, without John Maunsell at his right hand, it might not have been far worse.

Maunsell has been styled the Wolsey of the thirteenth century, and the aptness of the comparison is, on the surface, sufficiently palpable; but Maunsell was probably a higher type of man than the great cardinal. He was devoid of the arrogance of Wolsey, possessed of a truer sense of proportion with regard to the mutual relations between himself and his sovereign. He would never have been guilty of the solecism of writing "Ego et rex meus"; he was far more humane, perhaps it may be permissible to say less cruel, than Wolsey; and though he cannot be altogether acquitted of the fault, common to almost all who have filled an equivalent position with regard to their monarch, of lending himself to discreditable schemes—which must have laid considerable strain upon his conscience—at the instance of his master, he was on the whole less guilty in this respect than many.

In what degree his acquisition of pluralities was the outcome of his own initiative it is not easy to say; in several instances it is quite obvious that they were spontaneously bestowed upon him, and some advowsons were, no doubt, purchased by him; but it is impossible to ignore the inherent tendency of human nature to add riches to riches.

Of Maunsell's private life little or nothing appears to be known; his relations with his parents, his brothers, his children, his

immediate friends and acquaintances, are all lost in the obscurity of the ages. His memory remains as that of one who, starting with a severe handicap in the irregular marriage of his father, rose by his own ability and merits to the highest position in the realm, that of the King's Chief Councillor; and who retained to the end, in spite of all vicissitudes, and the rancour of ill-wishers in high places, the confidence and esteem of his royal master.

Note on Beverley Minster

The office of Provost of Beverley, held by John Maunsell for eighteen years up to the time of his death, and so frequently appended to his name in State records and various documents, in preference to his other offices, merits something more than passing mention; as does likewise the splendid edifice, Beverley Minster, which has elicited the unstinted admiration of architects and archæologists during many years.

The post of Provost of Beverley was one of immense importance and influence; the holder of it exercised control over the temporal possessions of the church and the patronage of the livings, and appointed the seven rectors and other officers of the Minster. In his court he was empowered to judge both ecclesiastical and civil offences, and even to inflict capital punishment.

The office of provost was of foreign origin, and was common abroad in the German districts: we hear of Provost of St. Omer, of Liège, of Lausanne, of Geneva, and in England of Crediton in the twelfth century.

It was most commonly bestowed, in the instance, at least, of Beverley, by way of reward for services to the sovereign and the State. From Thomas à Becket, who practically governed England under Henry II., and John Maunsell, who occupied a very similar position under Henry III., to Thomas Winter, the son of Thomas Wolsey, prime minister and temporal and spiritual guardian of Henry VIII., there was scarcely one whose career was not rather part of the history of England than merely that of Beverley or its Minster.

It is not possible to name the provosts of Beverley from pre-Conquest times; the earliest reliable record gives us Thomas the

younger, nephew to Thomas the elder, with whom therefore we must start as first provost.

1st Provost.—THOMAS, from 1092 to 1108, when he became Bishop of London, and subsequently Archbishop of York.

2nd Provost.—THOMAS NORMANNIUS, or the Norman, from 1108 to 1132, when he was present at the foundation of Rievaulx Abbey.

3rd and 4th Provosts.—There appears to be some uncertainty about these: THURSTON was the third, but it is not clear who was the fourth.

5th Provost.—THOMAS À BECKET, 1154 to 1162, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury.

6th Provost.—GEOFFREY, 1162 to 1177 (?). He was Chancellor to young King Henry, and was drowned at sea.

7th Provost.—ROBERT, 1177; Canon of York.

8th Provost.—SIMON FITZROBERT or WELLS, Bishop of Chichester.

9th Provost.—ALAN, 1204; Canon of Ripon.

10th Provost.—MORGAN, 1212; son of Henry II. Bishop Elect of Durham.

11th Provost.—WILLIAM, 1217.

12th Provost.—PETER OF SHERBURN, 1218; Canon and official of the Court of York.

13th Provost.—FULK BASSETT, 1222; Dean of York, Bishop of London.

14th Provost.—WILLIAM OF YORK, 1239; Bishop of Salisbury.

15th Provost.—WILLIAM OF CANTILUPE, 1244; son of Chief Justice Cantilupe.

16th Provost.—JOHN MAUNSELL, 1247 to 1265.

There were in all forty-one provosts, the last, Lee, living in 1548.

It is obvious, from the record of John Maunsell's life, that he could not have discharged in person the duties of this important post; he was far too busily employed elsewhere. He must be reckoned in this, as in numerous other instances, an absentee official, drawing the emolument of his office without performing his part. What was the amount of the salary attached to the post does not appear to be recorded; probably it was a liberal one, having regard to the considerable powers vested in the holder.

Thus far the provostship and the provosts; the history of the Minster must now be related.

The story of Beverley Minster is inseparably bound up with the name of a very good man, deeply revered in his lifetime, and as deeply honoured since in memorials.

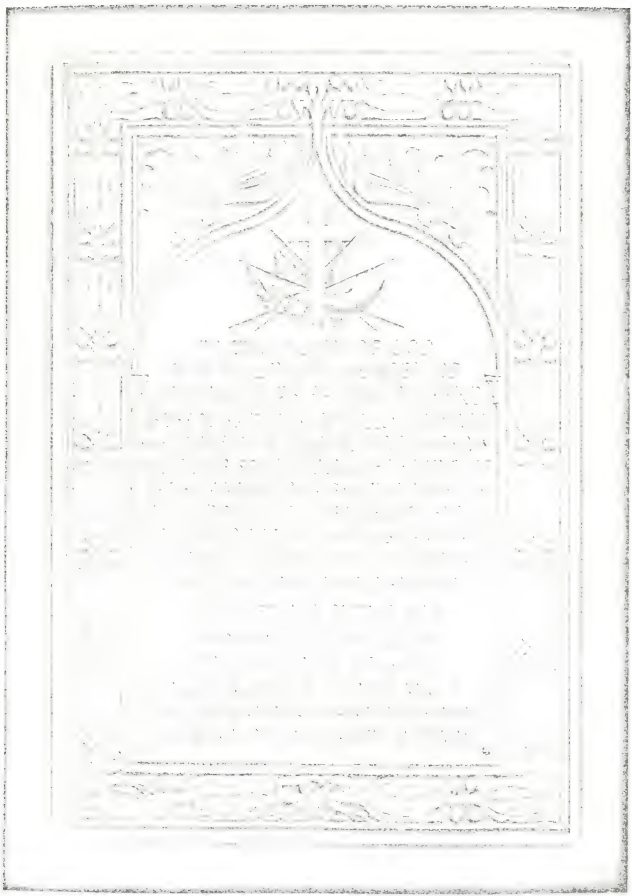
This was John, Bishop of Hexham, and afterwards Archbishop of York, commonly known as St. John of Beverley. He was born about 640, of noble Saxon parents, at Harpham-on-the-Wolds-some eighteen miles from Beverley, and was educated first at Canterbury and afterwards at Whitby, under the famous Abbess Hilda. He became a learned man and a most zealous theologian, and was consecrated Bishop of Hexham August 25, 687, and translated to York in 706.

John had by this time acquired a wide reputation as a man of heroic virtue and exemplary life, and many miraculous cures of various infirmities are attributed to his intervention, while the little band of disciples and pupils whom he attached to himself, imbued with the fervour of their superior, became in many instances famous for their learning and virtues. Among these was the Venerable Bede, who wrote a biography of St. John of Beverley.

Among other miracles worked by the intercession of this holy man is that of curing a poor dumb boy; by reason of this he is still venerated as the special saint and helper of the deaf and dumb, and has been chosen as the patron of the "Guild of St. John of Beverley," established for the benefit of these unfortunates. The Guild has presented to the Minster his statue, and a beautiful memorial window.

Of the origin and foundation of Beverley Minster there are conflicting accounts; but whatever may have gone before, we have it on the authority of St. John's contemporary and pupil, Venerable Bede, that he rebuilt and refounded the Church.

It is related that, in the year 933, Athelstan, afterwards first King of England, visited the Minster when on his way to battle, in order to invoke the assistance of St. John, and that after the victory of Brananburgh he endowed the Minster with wide lands, and altered the foundation to a college of secular canons, as distinct from a monastic house; similar conditions existed in the cases of York,



BRONZE TABLET RECENTLY PLACED IN BEVERLEY MINSTER
BY MRS. DE WEND.

Lincoln, Lichfield, Wimborne, and others. Hence the eligibility of John Maunsell, a secular priest, for the office of provost.

St. John died in 721, and in 1037 he was canonised by Benedict IX. The fame of the Minster and of its saintly founder was widely spread, and many royal personages resorted thither to beg the saint's assistance, or to return thanks for favours received.

William the Conqueror, when he devastated Yorkshire, turned aside from the lands of the Minster, broke up his camp and removed it to a distance, lest he should disturb "the peace of St. John." Edward I. and Henry IV. were visitors at the shrine of the saint, and Henry V. came hither after the battle of Agincourt, fought on St. Crispin's Day, October 25, which was also the date of the "translation" of St. John of Beverley, and the day on which his feast is still observed.

Thither, too, flocked the blind, the maim, the afflicted in divers ways, and found relief. Many and various miracles are related by St. John's biographers, wrought during his life and after his death; but enough has perhaps been said here of the beneficent and exemplary life of this good man, to whom the great church, still standing in all its magnificence, is dedicated.

Beverley Minster is a building which elicits superlatives of commendation, not alone from the uninformed sightseer, innocent of all pretension to architectural knowledge, who exclaims, "How lovely!" on the smallest provocation, but also from experts whose trained eyes take in with quick appreciation the divers merits of style or ornament, the delights of the subtle attribute of proportion.

The Rev. Canon Nolloth, D.D., a dweller under the shadow of the Minster, and the writer of an article upon it in "Memorials of Old Yorkshire," quotes the dicta of sundry gentlemen whose claims as competent critics are indisputable:

"Canon Venables," he says, "writing under the very shadow of his beloved Lincoln, declared Beverley to be 'the loveliest of English Minsters.'"

An able writer in the London *Guardian* wrote: "In the opinion of many excellent judges, Beverley Minster is, taken all round, the very finest church the country possesses."

Mr. A. F. Leach, an enthusiastic and learned Yorkshire archæologist, has said: "There is no more beautiful building in England than Beverley Minster. . . . Beverley, like the king's daughter, is all glorious within."

Mr. Francis Bond, in "Gothic Architecture in England," describes the choir as "the masterpiece of thirteenth-century Gothic."

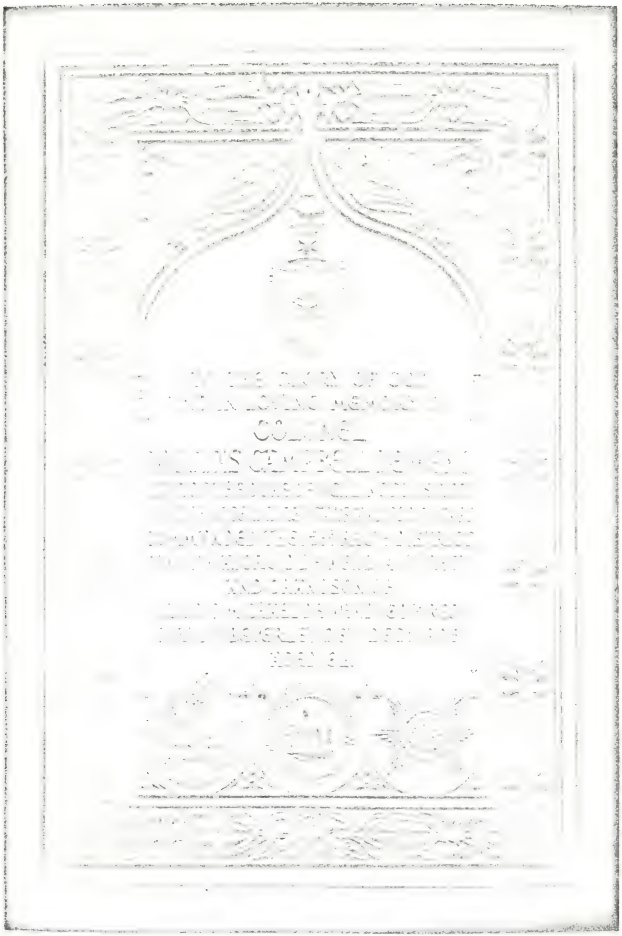
Last, but by no means least, that great master of his art, Sir Gilbert Scott, who had himself designed many a noble church which still delights the eye, exclaimed, as he surveyed the interior from the choir, "This is the finest Gothic church in the world!"

Beverley Minster did not, of course, commence its existence as a Gothic building; it was a pre-Conquest church; but to the ordinary observer there is but little of Early English or Norman work in evidence. The church was much damaged by a fire in 1188; and in the restoration and Gothicising of the building, a process which, as in the case of many another ancient church, extended over a couple of centuries, it appears to have fallen throughout into loving and skilful hands, the transition being carried out with consummate judgment and good taste, leaving the general effect completely harmonious and eminently pleasing to the eye—no small achievement, for the difficulties must have been considerable, and there are too many instances in which they have not been successfully grappled with.

Beverley Minster possesses in an eminent degree the attribute of good proportion, which is so charming even to the untrained eye, and to the expert reveals the veiled skill and acumen of the designer. It is a curiously impalpable quality, and it is not easy to realise wherein it consists; but there is no doubt as to the excellent and dignified effect where it exists, while its absence mars an otherwise splendid structure for the ordinary observer.

There is a wealth of rich carving and statuary both within and without, and no stained glass has been admitted which is not in keeping with the ancient specimens remaining; this is more than can be said for a large number of old churches, etc., where the hideous garish colouring of the middle of last century vexes the eye.

Beverley Minster has, in fact, been most carefully and



BRONZE TABLET RECENTLY PLACED IN BEVERLEY MINSTER
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lovingly fostered all through the generations by those under whose care it has successively been placed. Much money has from time to time been spent upon it. The organ, built originally in 1767, and frequently enlarged since, was last year entirely rebuilt, and converted into a thoroughly modern instrument, of great power and fine quality.[1]

The monuments in Beverley Minster are many and beautiful, notably those of the historic family of Percy.

Two modest bronzes have recently been placed in this ancient church by a sorrowing widow (a near relative of the compiler of these records), in memory of her late husband, Colonel Douglas de Wend, who commanded the Depôt and Regimental District, and his son Fenton, Lieutenant in his father's old corps, the 33rd, or West Riding Regiment.

Colonel de Wend's father, Major de Wend, of the 44th—the Essex Regiment—of Underbank Hall, Yorks, was one of those who escaped from Cabul during the disastrous retreat, when the British Army was cut up in the Khyber Pass. His grandfather was Major M. de Wend, 60th Rifles.

Lieutenant Fenton de Wend was killed in the first battle of Ypres.

The following gives the Maunsell, Chester, de Wend, and Herron connection.

Poyle Park

This Manor takes its name from the Poyle family, who owned it early in the thirteenth century.

In 1268 Walter de la Poyle obtained the wardship of Alice, daughter and heiress of Stephen de Hampton, of Hampton in Oxfordshire.

He married his ward and became the owner of her estates, since called Hampton Poyle: from one of his descendants the estate was purchased by John Gaynsford (1440). He died at Crowhurst (1450).

[1] The bulk of the information about Beverley Minster has been obtained from the article, above alluded to, by Canon Nolleth.

Poyle was sold in 1503 to Ralph Vyne. It was mortgaged by one of his descendants, and passed to Sir Nicholas Woodroffe in 1581 with other lands in Tongham. The Manor was held by the Woodroffes in direct line until 1779, when it passed by failure of male issue from George Woodroffe to his great-nephew, William Billinghurst, who took the name of Woodroffe, at whose death it passed to Colonel George Woodroffe, his brother, from whom in 1854 it passed under the entail to his cousin Henry Chester, on whose death it passed to his son, Frederick James Chester, who was succeeded by his son, Henry Morris Chester, Doctor of Laws, Cantab., Barrister, County Councillor for Surrey, the present owner.[1]

Frederick J. Chester, Esq., of the Manor of Poyle Park, and Poyle Hill, Seale and Longham, married his cousin, Charlotte Alice Chester, and had issue—

II. ELLEN CHARLOTTE, who married George Herron, Esq., of 14, de Vere Gardens, London, and Newdigate Place, Newdigate, Surrey, and had issue—

(*a*) GEORGE FREDERICK, of Elmstead, Surrey, a lieutenant in the Royal Motor Volunteer Corps, since disbanded. On the outbreak of the war, 1914, being over military age, he volunteered and joined the Royal Naval Armour Car Corps; became acting staff officer at the depôt, Wormwood Scrubs. On this Corps being absorbed by the military department he was transferred to the Royal Naval Flying Corps as lieutenant and acting staff officer, where his skill as an engineer and motorist was of great service.

(*b*) FLORENCE, married William Bradwell, Esq., of Dolguog, Machynlloth, North Wales. On the breaking out of the war (1914) Mr. Bradwell, being over military age, joined the Royal Welsh Fusiliers as lieutenant.

(*c*) WALTER FITZROY HERRON, served as a volunteer in the South African War and was awarded the Medal. On the breaking out of the present war, he again volunteered, and, being over military age, joined the 4th Dragoon Guards as second-lieutenant; having

[1] "Pilgrimage in Surrey," by J. S. Ogilvy, vol. i., p. 304; and Walford's "History of Surrey," vol. i., p. 108.

MEMORIAL WINDOW TO LIEUT. W. F. HERRON,
NEWDIGATE CHURCH.
Designed by James Powell & Sons, Whitefriars Glass Works, Tudor Street, E.C.

finished his training at the Cavalry Depôt he joined his regiment in France, was present at the battle of Neuve Chapelle, and through all the trench fighting in which the regiment was engaged during the winter of 1914-15: mentioned in despatches. He was ap-appointed regimental grenade instructor, and thus it came about that whilst instructing his men he was killed by the accidental explosion of a bomb. His promotion as lieutenant appeared in the *Gazette* just after his death. He was buried in the English cemetery at Estables in France, where a modest wooden cross marks his grave:

No. 48
R. I. P.
2ND LIEUT. W. F. HERRON,
4th Dragoon Guards.
Died April 3rd, 1916.

A memorial service was held in his memory at the parish church, Newdigate, at which almost the entire parish and many friends from London, etc., attended. His portrait hangs in the house of his father at Newdigate Place, and a handsome stained glass window has been placed in the church at Newdigate by his sorrowing mother, Mrs. Janson[1] of Newdigate Place, by whose kind permission a reproduction appears in this volume.

(*d*) STANLEY, died young.

(*e*) LILIAN CHESTER.

(*f*) KENNETH, of Wickham Place, Wickham Bishops, Essex. Joined the Essex Yeomanry on the outbreak of the war (1914) and is now serving at the Front.

(*g*) GEORGE O. M. HERRON, died July, 1902, and was buried at Newdigate, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory.

III. ALICE CHARLOTTE, married Colonel Douglas Campbell de Wend, 33rd (the Duke of Wellington's) West Riding Regiment, who afterwards commanded the Regimental District at Beverley. He died at Beverley, December 26, 1905, and was buried at Aislaibe in Yorkshire, where a handsome memorial window and clock tower have been erected to his memory by his widow, Mrs. Alice de Wend,

[1] Mrs. Herron married, secondly, J. Janson, Esq., who predeceased her.

of Aislaibe Hall, Sleights; as also a memorial bronze in the Minster at Beverley, which is reproduced in this volume. Colonel de Wend left issue by Alice his wife:

(*a*) ALICE CHARLOTTE.
(*b*) CYRIL, who died young, twin to
(*c*) DOUGLAS FENTON DE WEND, lieutenant in the Duke of Wellington's (the West Riding Regiment). Killed in the first battle of Ypres.
(*d*) MURIEL.
(*e*) IDA.

IV. FRANCES WALTER, of Fairholme, Guildford, married Col. Chas. A. Maunsell, the compiler of these volumes.

CHAPTER VI

Margam Abbey

THE history of the Welsh Mansels is so intimately connected with the fine estate of Margam Abbey, and the Castles of Oxwich and Penrice, that it appears very suitable to preface their chronicles with some account of these important centres: of their origin, their early owners, their vicissitudes of fortune, etc., together with a description of their ancient and later aspect, their architecture, and all points of interest pertaining to them.

It will be observed, at the outset, from the heading of the present section, that the spelling of the name—*Maunsell*—which has been chiefly adhered to up to this point, is here altered to *Mansel*, this being the form adopted by the Welsh branch, after it was well established. This orthographical question has been fully discussed in the first chapter, when considering the origin of the name. It may be repeated here that the form adopted is purely arbitrary; the variants appearing in the Battle Abbey Roll, and other ancient documents, are due to the laxity in spelling which was prevalent in those days. There is, however, something to be said for the adoption of the form *Mansel*, in view of the generally accepted hypothesis that the family is of Norman or French origin, as in France and Normandy it was almost invariably spelt *Mansel*, or *Mancel*, and rarely with the letter "u." The matter is not of great importance, but as the Welsh Mansels have adopted this form, it is obviously preferable to follow their lead in dealing with their history.

Precedence is yielded to Margam Abbey, as by far the most important of the three estates; and it is proposed to trace its history up to the period of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII., when it came into the possession of the Mansels.

Margam Abbey was founded in the year 1147, by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I., as is recorded in "Annales de Margan."[1] This Robert had, some twelve years previously, founded the Benedictine Priory of St. James, at Bristol, where he died, October 31, the same year in which he founded Margam Abbey, and was buried in St. James's, "in the middle of the choir of the priory church or chapel, now the parish church of St. James, in a tomb of green jasper."[2]

Margam Abbey was founded for monks of the Cistercian order, which was a reformed branch of the ancient order of Benedictines. Perhaps "reformed" is scarcely the most suitable term, for the Cistercians aimed simply at the literal interpretation of the original rule of St. Benedict. One Robert, of a noble family in Champagne, who was subsequently canonised, was the originator of the order. He was a Benedictine, but being dissatisfied with the practices and innovations of his own and neighbouring communities, he retired with twenty others to Citeaux and there inaugurated the new, or rather the practice of the old rule. This was at the termination of the eleventh century, when the Benedictine order had already been in existence for approximately five hundred and fifty years. The title of "Cistercian" is derived from Cistercium, the Roman name of Citeaux, where St. Robert formed the first community. The rules and practices of Cistercian monks have nothing to do with our present subject; but it is interesting to note that this part of Wales, Glamorgan, was selected, during the twelfth century, when Cistercianism was securely founded and greatly flourished, as the *locus* of several houses of the order, one of which, though it was not in existence for very long, may have been, in a certain sense, the nucleus or mother-house of Margam.

This was a small community at Pendar, or Penvar, about eighteen miles distant, in a north-east direction, from Margam, under the rule of one Meiler, formerly a hermit; and to this brother Meiler, and the brethren of Pendar, Caradoc Urbeis gave a grant of

[1] Annales Monastici. Vol. i., p. 14. In ancient documents the name is almost invariably spelt *Margan*, as above.

[2] Mon. Angl. (second edition). Vol. iv, p. 333.

CHAPTER HOUSE, MARGAM ABBEY.

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[illegible] page 108

certain lands. The date of this deed is anterior to 1147; and subsequently, about the year 1151, there is a grant by Philip, son of Griffin (1) to brother Meiler and the house of Margam; (2) to brother Meiler and the house of Pendar.[1]

From this document it would appear that brother Meiler was at one and the same time superior of the communities at Pendar and Margam. This is remarkable, and most unusual; "pluralities" in such an office were certainly not prevalent at this or any period. The most rational explanation appears to be that though it was founded in 1147, Margam Abbey was not sufficiently advanced for occupation in 1151. The Benedictines have always been very deliberate in their building operations, and indeed are so to this day; and doubtless the traditions of the order, with regard to leisurely and solid construction, were held by the Cistercians. This assumption, however, does not debar Meiler from being the superior elect of Margam, over which he would exercise a constant supervision, until, the building being completed, the smaller house was merged in the larger.

Margam Abbey is situated some two and a half miles from the sea, where the coastline curves sharply to the south-east from the eastern extremity of Swansea Bay; and about eight miles north-west from it stand the remains of another Cistercian house, Neath Abbey, between which and Margam Abbey there were frequent transactions.

Neath Abbey was the older house of the two, having been founded about the year 1130 by Richard de Grainvilla, or Granville, and Constance his wife. In the foundation charter, which is given in full by Dugdale, the founders state that they found the Abbey, and make their various grants of lands, etc., "for the welfare of the soul of Robert Earl of Gloucester, and the Countess Mabel his wife, and William their son, and for the welfare of our souls and those of our ancestors"; and after detailing the various gifts, proceed: "All these things we give freely and quit of all fines, and without any secular tribute, under the protection and with the consent of Henry

[1] "History of Margam Abbey," by W. de G. Birch; pp. 11, 12.

King of England, and with the goodwill of Robert Earl of Gloucester, and the Countess Mabel his wife, and William their son"—and after the names of the witnesses is added: "And I Robert Earl of Gloucester take all these things under my protection, care, and defence, and establish the said Abbey canonically."

The terms of this charter are here quoted as affording an instance of departure from the ordinary practice, by which benefactions for the "welfare of souls" were commonly postponed until after the death of the persons in question; here it is obvious that they were living, and were consulted as to the framing of the charter, on which Robert bestows his final approval. He died seventeen years later, in 1147, his son in 1183.[1] There are, however, a good many instances of charters similarly framed for the welfare of the souls of the living.

Before proceeding with the story of Margam Abbey it will be of interest to relate a very romantic story, leading up to the conquest of Glamorgan, and the subsequent distribution of lands, etc., therein, which no doubt affected more or less directly the fortunes of the Abbey with regard to the lands with which it was ultimately endowed.

In the reign of William Rufus, at the end of the eleventh century, one Jestyn, or Justin, son of Gwrgan, was Prince of Glamorgan, and was possessed likewise of immense territories, including that lying between the rivers Usk and Wye; the Cantred, between the Neath and Tawy; Gower and Carnwyllion, between the Tawy and Towy; and the Red Cantred, between the Wye and the Severn, extending to Gloucester Bridge, and thence in a straight line to Hereford. This last-named extensive domain came to him as the dowry of his second wife, Angharad, daughter of Elystan Glodrydd, lord of Ferlex, or Hereford; and this lady was destined, quite innocently, to be the cause of the disruption and conquest of her husband's dominions.

At this same period Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of Dehenbarth,

[1] This instance of the bestowal of benefactions for the "welfare of souls" still enshrined in terrestrial bodies may perhaps have some bearing upon the charter of Gervase Paganel, in 1187, where lands are given by Walter and John Maunsell for the welfare of the soul of Robert Paganel; this latter may have been living at the time. See *ante*, page 97.

was a very powerful chieftain in South Wales; his territory included the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan.

Between these two princes there arose a bitter quarrel, the occasion and outcome of which is given in a curious old book of the sixteenth century.[1]

These two princes, as was the custom, had their bards, who were held in great esteem, and used to visit at the houses or castles of the neighbouring territory; partly, perhaps, in order to ascertain how such an one was disposed towards their own lords, for Merrick tells us: "As their Bards were entertained and rewarded, soe they supposed themselves beloved and esteemed of their Neighbors"—a kind of official gossip, in fact, who might very well create either goodwill or rancour by his reports.

The bards of Rhys ap Tewdwr, after a visit to Jestyn, "being demanded what newes and entertainment they found in Morganwg, answered, Nothing else, but that Dehybarth and Morganwg want both one thing, viz., a meete match; which might have been well remedyed, if Justin had been married to his Wife, and hee to Justin's Wife"—which, as a piece of mischief-making, certainly did the gossips credit. They were enthusiastic in their praises of Angharad, her great beauty and good qualities, and so forth, with the result that Rhys, "being in the flower of his youth, and prone to Voluptuousness, was soone kindled with Venus Dart." Nothing would serve him but a sight of this beautiful woman, and a meeting was arranged between the two princes, each accompanied by his wife and a goodly retinue.

The result was disastrous; Rhys, finding the lady even more attractive than he had pictured her, took occasion to enlighten her privately as to his admiration and his desires, with such convincing force that she afterwards begged her husband to take her away secretly in the night, which he did; and so his just indignation on the

[1] "Morganiæ Archæographia," by Rice Merrick, 1587. Merrick was son of Meiric ap Howell, of Cottrell, in Glamorganshire, and part owner of the manor of St. Nicholas. He was Clerk of the Peace for Glamorgan, and was buried in the south aisle of Cowbridge Church; there is an inscribed stone over his grave, and a mural tablet close by, bearing his shield of arms. The only known copy, in MS., of this book is at Queen's College, Oxford. In 1825 sir Thomas Phillipps had fifty copies printed for private circulation.

one hand, and Rhys ap Tewdwr's fury of bafiled passion on the other, resulted in desperate warfare between the two princes.

Jestyn, however, entertaining some misapprehension as to his power of overcoming Rhys ap Tewdwr, despatched an envoy to England to seek assistance from the Normans, and succeeded, by the promise of money, in securing the aid of Sir Robert Fitzhamon, who was, perhaps, actuated by other than merely mercenary motives, being, as Merrick says, "a valiant knight, and a man of great worthiness in Martiall affaires . . . desirous to exercise himselfe in the feates of Warr."

Fitzhamon accordingly assembled a force, under twelve choser knights, whose names will presently be mentioned, and the combined Welsh and Norman army encountered that of Rhys ap Tewdwr at a place on the borders of Brecknock and Glamorgan, named Ton Rees (otherwise Rees's or Rice's Field). Jestyn and his Norman allies do not appear to have gained any advantage at this first encounter, but, effecting a strategical retirement to more favourable ground, near Brin y Beddau (otherwise the Hill of Grace), they routed Rhys's force, Rhys himself being killed and beheaded, and his head brought in triumph to Jestyn; "in memory whereof, that place is called Pen Rhys," or Rhys's Head.

Jestyn thereupon returned to his own territory, accompanied by his Norman allies, disbanded his army, feeling himself secure after the overthrow of his enemy, and laid himself out to entertain the Normans, nothing doubting their goodwill towards himself. He was soon to discover, to his cost, that he was dwelling in a fool's paradise.

Jestyn's envoy, one Inon, or Einon, who had enlisted Fitzhamon's services, and who was apparently invested by his prince with plenary powers, had made certain definite promises of reward to Sir Robert and his retainers, which Jestyn, when it came to settling up, repudiated in some respects. There ensued a hot dispute, reaching at length a pitch at which only the arbitrament of arms remained; and Einon, angry at the repudiation of his terms with the Normans, turned with his retainers against Jestyn.

Another version of the story is that Jestyn, by way of

CHAPTER HOUSE, MARGAM ABBEY, SOUTH VIEW

(From a Drawing by C. Lyvam.)

stimulating Einon's zeal and despatch in executing his commission, had promised him his daughter in marriage as a reward for his success; and Einon, after their Norman guests had taken their leave, reminded Jestyn of this stipulation, asking for his daughter's hand. Jestyn, however, either flatly refused or temporised over the business; upon which Einon set out in hot pursuit of Sir Robert Fitzhamon and his men, and induced them to return and attack Jestyn.

A third, and perhaps more probable story, runs that Fitzhamon designed from the outset to seize some territory in Wales, both for his own aggrandisement and to gain the approbation of the king, who, he well knew, would be delighted with such conquest.

Whatever the immediate cause may have been, Robert Fitzhamon presently fell upon Jestyn, surprised and captured the castle and town of Cardiff, and the Castle of Dynaspowys, and either slew or banished Jestyn; then he divided his followers into marauding bands, and finally obtained complete possession of almost the whole of Glamorgan, which formed a large part of Jestyn's territory of Morganwg.

Hastily despatching messengers to King William Rufus, apprising him of this conquest, and praying for his support, Fitzhamon set about pacifying the conquered territory; "and the more willing men were to serve him, for that the fame and prayse of Glamorgan, although it was fertile, exceeded the goodnesse thereof; and that he was knowne and reputed an expert Captaine, and also because good fortune procureth freindes."

The king immediately forwarded fresh supplies, and Fitzhamon proceeded to reward his knights for their services with grants of land:

"1. Sir William de Londres, borne in London, and therefore soe named, had, by the gift of Sir Robert Fitzhamon, the Manor of Ogmore, which contayned 4 knights fees.

"2. To Sir Richard de Granvilla, his Brother, he gave the Lordship of Neath, being one of 11 Members of the Signory of Glamorgan and Morganwg.

"3. To Sir Pagan, *alias* Payn Turberville, befell the Lordship of Coytdy, another of the said Members.

"4. To Sir Robert de St. Quintin was allotted the Lordship of Lanvlethyan, being alsoe another of the said Members

"5. To Sir Richard Seward was bestowed the Lordship of Talavan, another of the said Members, of whose name it is of the vulgar people commonly called Tyr Syward, viz., Sewarde's land, at this day.

"6. To Sir Gilbert Humfrevyle was given the Manour of Penmarck, some time called Pen March Howell, being 3 knights fees.

"7. To Sir Rannould de Sully was committed the manour of Sully, soe since called after his name, being 2 knights fees.

"8. Sir Roger Berkrols had unto him assigned the Manour of East Orchard, which conteyned one knights fee.

"9. Sir Peter le Soore had the Manour of St. Ffagan's and Peterston unto him appointed, after his name soe called, being one knights fee.

"10. To Sir John Ffleinynge was bestowed the Manour of Wenvo Lamvays Fleiningstone, conteyning one knights fee.

"11. Sir Olliver St. John obtained the Manour of Foonmoun, being one knights fee.

"12. To Sir William de Esterlinge, *alias* Stradling, was given the Manour of St. Donette's, one knights fee."

It is of some interest that the descendants of Jestyn ap Gwrgan were very generous benefactors of Margam Abbey. Caradoc, the eldest son of Jestyn, was first styled Lord of Aven (or Avon, or Avene), and his grandson, Thomas, first assumed the surname of Avene. It is said that Caradoc was a benefactor of Margam, but it is more probable that his son, Morgan, was the first; he was also a benefactor of Neath Abbey. There is in Harley MSS., 6831 (Welsh Pedigrees, by Hugh Thomas), the copy, in English, of a charter executed February 10, 1349, by Thomas de Avene, son of Sir John, bestowing certain lands upon Margam Abbey. Thomas does not say where he obtained it, but it is transcribed by Stevens in his additions to Dugdale, and elsewhere, and is obviously to be regarded as authentic. (Mr. G. T. Clark, in his "Limbus Patrum Morganiæ," inadvertently ascribes this charter to Sir Thomas, grandfather of the actual donor, and repeats it in his notice of the latter.)

Such is, briefly, the story of the conquest of Glamorgan, as related by Rice Merrick. Fitzhamon was never free, however, during his lifetime, of trouble with the Welshmen, who had fled to the

mountains; they continued to raid the lands contiguous to their fastnesses, and the Normans found it impossible to make much impression upon them. They would leave their women and non-effectives in secure hiding, and sweep down suddenly, often, as Merrick states, inflicting losses upon the Normans, and retiring to the hills before reinforcements could be summoned to deal with them.

The conquest of Glamorgan took place about the year 1090. Fitzhamon died in the year 1107, leaving issue only a daughter, Mabel, or Mabilia, who married Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the founder of Margam Abbey.[1]

The original charter of foundation of Margam Abbey is no longer extant, but its provisions are cited in a charter, recording the inspection and ratification of the earlier one, executed by Hugh le Despenser, son and heir of Hugh le Despenser and Lady Alianora his consort, Lords of Glamorgan and Morgan.

The deed herein cited is a charter by Robert, *Consul* or Earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I., King of England, addressed to Robert Norreis the sheriff, and to all his men, French, English, and Welsh, granting to the monks of Clairvaux [2]—*i.e.*, the Cistercians—all the land between the Kenefeg and Aven streams, "from the brow of the mountain, as the aforesaid waters descend from the mountains to the sea, in wood and in plain; and my fisheries of Aven, for founding an Abbey, free and quit of all customs, by consent of Mabilia (daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, Lord of Glamorgan) his Countess, of whose inheritance the land forms a part." [3]

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[1] This story of the conquest of Glamorgan, as related by Rice Merrick, is regarded by some writers as a more or less doubtful legend, though all agree that Robert Fitzhamon and his twelve knights actually effected the conquest. In a History of Wales, by Caradoc of Llancarvan, translated by David Powel, it is stated that Einon repaired to Istyn after he and his brother Llewellyn, rebelling against Rhys ap Tewdwr, had been routed by his forces; and this same writer states that Rhys ap Tewdwr was at this time *above ninety-eight years old*, which is a very different story from that of Rice Merrick. Dr. E. A. Freeman, in "The Reign of William Rufus," states that Rhys ap Tewdwr was slain by Bernard de Newmarch, who had conquered Brecknock, and was set upon by Rhys. Freeman thinks it possible that Robert Fitzhamon was also engaged in this battle, and that Rhys was taken prisoner and refused quarter.

[2] Clairvaux was one of the four "daughter houses" of the original Cistercian abbey at Citeaux. The great St. Bernard was Abbot of Clairvaux, and it is thus more famous than the other three at La Ferte, Pontigny, and Morimond—they were established 1112-1115.

[3] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan," by G. T. Clarke. 1213-14.

There is some ground for assuming that the district at that time known as Margam, or Margan, was more extensive than would at present appear; it may have included a large portion of the county of Glamorgan, reaching as far, in a south-west direction, as Bridgend, on the River Ogmore, some seven or eight miles.[1]

In this inspection charter by Hugh le Despenser there are included some further deeds relating to Margam Abbey.

The second in order is executed by William, Earl of Gloucester, son of Robert, and confirms to Margam Abbey the lands "from the lower brow of the mountains to the higher brow of the mountains, to the source of the Kenefeg, and from the source of the Kenefeg to the source of the Frudel; and from the source of the Frudel across the mountains to the Kewelthi Ford on the Aven, and thence as it descends to the sea."[2]

This would appear to be an amplification by William of his father's charter, indicating more precisely the boundaries of the land thus bestowed. The sources of the two rivers are not very easily determined, but that of the Frudel is certainly in the direction of the Kewelthi (or Kedwelthi) ford over the Afon, or Aven, and not far from it, while the Kenefeg appears to rise some seven or eight miles to the southward of the ford. The territory indicated would constitute a rude parallelogram or trapezium, much indented on the south side by the windings of the Kenefeg, covering some five-and-thirty or forty square miles of wood, plain, and mountain.[3]

This is, of course, merely a rough estimate of the extent of the lands bestowed upon the Abbey at its foundation; it was a generous endowment, and it is said that the selected site was a very beautiful one, in a wooded part of the country. Indeed, it is easy to credit the statement; the remains of Margam Abbey stand to this day amid scenery sufficiently attractive.

The third charter inspected was a grant by Morgan, son of Caradoc, to Margam Abbey, of "the land Rossoulyn, between the

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[1] "History of Margam Abbey," by W. de Gray Birch; pp. 15-16.

[2] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan." 1214.

[3] *Vide* map, "History of Margam Abbey," p. 280.

REMAINS OF THE HISTORIC GATEWAY AT MARGAM

"When the palms fall the Mansels will go down."

waters of Wrak' and Clendachcumkake, the water of the Neath, and the highway through the mountains to Torbethel, as far as Glin-wrak'."[1]

This was a separate tract of land, lying farther north, if Wrelec River is identical with Wrak'—this is not certain; Torbethel lies just south of the Clendachcumkake River.

Morgan's son, Leisan, confirms this grant in a fourth charter included in this inspection.

The fifth article of this deed is an inquisition, held in 1299, concerning the infraction by one Traharn Du, Bedell (Beadle ?) of Tirialthe, of the rights of the Abbot of Margam, in holding an inquest upon the body of one Philip Sparke, who died in Comb-Kenefeg, whereas the "famulus"[2] of the county of Cardiff performs the duty of coroner in the abbot's lands—"therefore the said Traharn shall be imprisoned."[3]

This "inspeximus" is dated 12 Edward III. (1338-9); Dugdale gives a charter by King John, of the year 1207, confirming the gifts of Robert of Gloucester and William his son, and those of a long list of benefactors, to Margam Abbey.[4]

To cite all the various deeds and charters concerning the Abbey, and to trace the lands thereby bestowed or confirmed, would, however, entail a very tedious relation, upon which it is not here intended to enter; it is not with the details of the monastic period that we are now concerned, but with the general history of the Abbey from its earliest days. Suffice it to say that Margam Abbey continued to receive very large grants of land, etc., and was an exceedingly flourishing establishment. The holders of lands in those times probably found this disposal of their possessions a good bargain in more than one respect; they obtained, on the one hand, the advantage of the prayers of the community—benefactors would be, and are to this day, constantly remembered at Mass, whether living

[1] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan." 1215.

[2] Du Cange gives the sense of "famulus" as synonymous with "esquire"; it is not quite clear how it applies here.

[3] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan." 1216. "Bedellus" is a minor official.

[4] Mon. Angl. Vol. v., p. 740 (second edition).

or dead—and would also reap some secular advantage from the better cultivation of the land, the civilising and refining influence of the monks upon the ruder people, and so forth. The influence of such a community as that of Margam Abbey, holding sway, as was estimated at the Dissolution, over some fifty thousand acres, would be of no mean importance.

It is worth noting that, by a charter of William, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the monks of Margam had the right of all wrecks cast upon the line of coast bounding their lands—a concession which might be of considerable value, as vessels would frequently be driven upon that part of the Bristol Channel during heavy south-west gales. It would, however, probably involve some trouble with their neighbours, who might regard a wreck as their lawful prize; more than one instance of such conflict is, in fact, on record, as will be presently related.

In the year 1186 the monks of Margam, their house being firmly established and approaching completion, prayed the pope, Urban III., to recognise their community, and take them under the protection of St. Peter and the Holy See; and the Bull which the pope issued in response to their appeal is of interest, as indicating the status of the monks, and the mutual obligations between themselves and their neighbours; its provisions are therefore embodied in an Appendix.[1] They will be recognised as eminently reasonable; but they are not, of course, identical with the Rule of St. Benedict, by which the inner life of the community was governed, and upon the strict observance of which the Cistercians insisted. This Rule inculcates a life of sustained self-denial, hard work, and prayer; but it certainly does not include any such cruel stipulation as the "walling up" alive of monks or nuns who break their vows, as described by Sir Walter Scott in "Marmion." The dreadful conclave, holding "council of life and death," the two shrieking victims, the "niches, narrow, deep, and tall," in which they were to be immured, are products of the lively imagination of the great poet, aided by absolutely unfounded traditions of monastic life. The blind old Abbot, the Abbess of St.

[1] "History of Margam Abbey," pp. 57, 58, 59. See Appendix to this volume.

THE OLD HOUSE AT MARGAM, LOOKING FROM THE PARK, 1914

Original at Margam, reproduced by kind permission of
Miss Talbot of Margam.

Hilda, "Tynemouth's haughty Prioress"—these are familiar figures to readers of Scott :

> "All servants of St. Benedict,
> The statutes of whose order strict
> On iron table lay."

The good Sir Walter would apparently convey the impression that the Rule of St. Benedict was of such drastic and cruel import that nothing short of an *iron* table would serve to support it !

Not of any such nature was the ordinance by which the monks of Margam Abbey were bound ; they went steadily upon their self-accepted routine of duties : tilling the ground, tending their herds, aiding the poor and wretched, spending long hours in prayer while the rest of the world slumbered, and laboriously adding stone to stone in the deliberate erection of the splendid structure, the remains of which still testify to the skill and solidity of their building.

Dugdale gives but a meagre account of the abbots of Margam. William (probably William de Claravalle, or "of Clairvaux"), is quoted as the first abbot, but he probably succeeded Meiler. This William, it is stated in "Annales de Margan," "discessit" in 1153 ; whether he died or resigned is uncertain. Andrew died in 1155 ; Gilbert resigned upon the occasion of a visitation ordered by the Abbot of Clairvaux, in 1213 ; he was succeeded by John, a monk of Margam. The roll of the abbots, so far as it can be ascertained, is given in the Appendix.

The benefactions to Margam Abbey, which are very fully set forth in sundry deeds quoted by Dr. Birch in his history of the house, are numerous and extensive. There does not appear to be any necessity for enumerating them here in detail ; but there are some charters of especial interest in connection with the Mansels, by reason of the names of certain benefactors or witnesses, whose families were subsequently allied in marriage with them.

It is also worthy of note that these benefactions included lands in Bristol. In the time of William of Clairvaux, either the first or second abbot, John, son of Odo Sorus, confirms to Margam Abbey the house and land of "Canterel," in Bristol Castle ; and this is subsequently confirmed by William, Earl of Gloucester, son of

Robert, founder of the Abbey. Dr. Birch remarks: "The tenure of this property, which was situate within the castle, and probably carried with its position there a seat at the Earl's council table, gave to Margam a standpoint where the monks were in direct touch with the stream of home and foreign trade perpetually passing through the western midlands and converging on the flourishing port, second only to London at that time in the magnitude of its business."

In one of the earliest deeds relating to Margam Abbey the name of William de la Mare occurs as one of the witnesses. This family, it will be recollected, has already been mentioned in connection with the alleged gift, by Sir Henry Harley, to Philip, the first Mansel, of the manor of Oxwich.[1] There will be more to say upon this subject later on.

Another charter, at the end of the twelfth century, embodies a grant by "Chenethur and his brethren, Blethin, William, Chenwrec, and Rideric," of certain lands to the abbey; and an endorsement styles the grantors the "sons of Herbert." From another charter we learn that Herbert Scurlag, or Scurlage, granted some lands, and it appears to be nearly certain that these were his sons.[2] The family of Scurlage subsequently intermarried with the Mansels, who through this union acquired Scurlage Castle. Members of the Scurlage family appear frequently as grantors or witnesses in subsequent charters.

The names of Unfraville, Bello Campo (Beauchamp), de Turbeville, de Braose, and Frankleyn are also to be found among these records, and are all connected with the Mansels.

At the end of the twelfth century, but, as is so frequently the case with these early charters, lacking precise date, is a deed by Walter Lupellus, or Luvell, among the witnesses to which appears the name of Mansel, without initial or Christian name. This may be that William Mansel who held lands in Gloucester of Henry de Newmarch, in 1165-66,[3] but in the absence of a distinguishing initial it is not possible to arrive at a certain conclusion. The record,

[1] See *ante*, p. 43.

[2] "History of Margam Abbey," pp. 22, 23.

[3] See *ante*, p. 62.

however, establishes some sort of connection between the Mansels and Wales at this period, and further light may be thrown upon the matter by subsequent events.

Another charter, which has no direct reference to Margam Abbey, is interesting as including among the witnesses John Mansel; and this bears the date 1201. The question naturally arises, whether this John is identical with the Mansel named in the deed above mentioned. There is a contemporary John in Gabriel Ogilvy's pedigree, mentioned in Rotuli Curiæ Regis (p. 426): he was apparently of Rutland, and so it would be improbable that he would witness a deed in Wales.

The possible bearing of these isolated references must be considered later; they have no immediate concern with the history of Margam Abbey.

One of the most generous benefactors of Margam Abbey was Caradoc ap Morgan, a direct descendant of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, whose dealings with Rhys ap Tewdwr and the Normans have already been related.

In spite of the confirmation of all benefactions, and the citation of rights, privileges, and duties of the monks of Margam by Pope Urban III., in 1186, already alluded to, they were apparently compelled to appeal to the Holy See in 1203 for protection against their unruly neighbours. Pope Innocent III. issued, within a very short period, no less than three Bulls concerning Margam Abbey. The first, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Prelates of the English Province, relates how that the pope has learned "with much grief and distress of heart," of the injuries done and daily failure of justice due to the abbot and brethren of Margam, such as the irreverent invasion of their property or houses, the withholding of bequests made to them, the levying of tithes upon their means of support, contrary to their apostolic privileges, and so forth; from which it is apparent that, although the monks of Margam had many munificent friends, they had also rapacious neighbours who made things very unpleasant for them. Upon these offenders the pope pronounces severe spiritual penalties, and accentuates this promulgation a few days later in another Bull, also addressed to the Archbishop

of Canterbury, confirming all privileges granted by his predecessors to Margam Abbey; and followed by a third, addressed to Gilbert, Abbot of Margam, enjoining in the first place the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule and the Cistercian ordinances, and then directing their perpetual possession of all the properties of the Abbey, which are enumerated in detail, and make a goodly show. These two last-mentioned documents are dated upon the same day, November 20, 1203.

Following the inventory of lands, etc., and benefactors, there is, as on a former occasion, a recapitulation of the duties and privileges of the monks, and renewed prohibition of any kind of molestation of the Abbey or its inmates, on pain of anathema against all offenders.

During the thirteenth century Margam Abbey flourished, receiving confirmation of ancient grants and charters, together with some additional lands, all matters of dispute between this and other religious houses being settled, according to the traditions of the Cistercian order, by appeal to a tribunal of abbots or other persons of weight.

These good monks were indeed very human, and tenacious —quite justifiably—of their terrestrial rights; and there is a remarkable instance of a dispute of this nature between Margam Abbey and that of Caerleon (or Kaerlyun), Monmouth. This had been settled by a "final composition" in the year 1203; but the "finality" of the business proved elusive, and the matter was again brought before a monastic tribunal just fifty years later, in 1253. The rights in question were chiefly concerned with the common of Hirwaun-Wrgan (or Gwrgan's Long Meadow), which had originally been conceded as "common" land by Gwrgan, father of that Jestyn with the beautiful wife, of whom we have already heard. At a preliminary hearing it transpired that Caerleon had not complied strictly with the terms of the settlement of 1203, whereupon it was further referred to the Cistercian abbots of Dore, county Hereford, and Tintern, county Monmouth, who insisted that the original settlement was to be maintained, and Margam Abbey was to use the pasture of Hyrwen-Worgan by day and night at all times of the year, and so forth.

THE OLD HOUSE AT MARGAM, LOOKING FROM MARGAM HILL ON TO THE SEA, 1914.

Original at Margam, reproduced by kind permission of Miss Talbot of Margam.

It is significant as illustrative of the far-reaching rights of these monastic houses that this common land is near Aberdare, some fifteen miles from Margam, and very much farther from Caerleon, which lies on the eastern boundary of Monmouth, not far from the capital of the county.

Litigation likewise arose, as was inevitable, regarding the rights of wreckage accorded to the Abbey by William, Earl of Gloucester. In the year 1333 John Lovel, or Louel, steward of Margam Abbey, was accused of appropriating a boat, valued at forty shillings, three bales of wool valued at sixty shillings, a small coffer and a cask worth eightpence, the goods of certain men named and a girl Susanna, whose bodies were cast up with the said goods on the shore at Borwys, or Burrows, near Margam. Lord William La Zouche,[1] Lord of Glamorgan and Morganwg, claimed these goods as his right; but the steward pleaded that the abbots of Margam had the right of wreck there from time immemorial. A jury was assembled to decide the case, and the verdict was in favour of the abbot. A similar verdict was delivered in other disputes which arose on this subject, and it is stated ("History of Margam Abbey," p. 296) that the representative of the Abbey holds this right to the present day; by no means an isolated instance of this curious survival of an ancient privilege, in spite of copious wreck legislation, the institution of Commissioners of Wrecks, and so forth, in later years.

The fourteenth century did not find Margam Abbey in such flourishing condition; in compliance with the order of the Abbot of Clairvaux, the Abbot of Margam presented a detailed account of assets of his house, showing a yearly total of £75 13s. 10d. The good abbot goes on to describe the various causes which render the income inadequate to meet expenses:

(1) He is required to support thirty-eight monks and forty conversi (lay-brothers).

(2) No small part of the land adjacent to the shore is subject

[1] William, Lord Zouche, was Lord of Glamorgan by his marriage (as her second husband) with Eleanor, daughter of Gilbert, grandson of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester; the lordship passed to Eleanor's son Edward, by her first husband, Hugh le Despenser.—"Cartæ et Munimenta Glamorganiæ," by G. T. Clark. Vol. i., p. 1.

to inundations, which often destroy the crops, and he fears more expenses under this head.

(3) A terrible mortality among the animals upon which he relies mostly for support has occurred.

(4) Numerous incursions and attacks of enemies, producing immense losses, have taken place.

(5) That, being on the high road, and far from other places of refuge, the Abbey is continually overrun with rich and poor strangers.

(6) Thus the monks have become so much impoverished that they are unable to pay their pressing debts, as well as tithes assessed on them by the pope and the king, and contributions to their Order.

This document was sealed in the presence of twelve seniors of the house before the Abbot of Neath and Bernard, monk of Clairvaux, bachelor of theology, in the year 1326. It is endorsed "Taxation of the temporalities of Margam, by Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux." [1]

Further indication of the abbot's secular embarrassments is supplied by the fact that, in 1337, the Abbey was in default of the rent, amounting to forty shillings, on certain lands, etc., which were in consequence forfeited to the Duchy of Lancaster; they were, however, ultimately restored to the monks, after the lapse of more than a century, as will be noted hereafter.

Fishing rights have always been occasion of infringement and litigation, and it will be recollected that the fisheries on the Avon were included among the original endowments of Margam Abbey. In the year 1365 certain persons were summoned before a Special Commission to answer charges of poaching on the fisheries, preferred against them by Margam Abbey. The defendants were not able to make out a good case for themselves; some of them promptly confessed their delinquency, and threw themselves upon the mercy of the abbot. One Rees ap Griff' Gethyn attempted, however, some justification, but was compelled eventually to admit that he had been guilty of prevarication; and the abbot, on this and on a subsequent occasion in the following year, obtained a verdict. The sheriff

[1] "History of Margam Abbey," pp. 304-6.

of Glamorgan and Morgan—Sir Edward de Stratelyng, or Stradling—ultimately issued a mandate whereby the fishing rights were more firmly secured to the monastery.

The fifteenth century was not an eventful or very prosperous one for Margam Abbey; benefactions were few and far between, and the Wars of the Roses affected disastrously the whole of South Wales, including the religious houses.

At the very commencement of the century the Abbey suffered from the visits of Owen Glendower, who robbed and pillaged ruthlessly wherever he went, not sparing the treasure or sacred vessels of monastic houses. It was owing to the injuries which he inflicted upon Margam Abbey that Henry VI. granted, in 1440, as an act of reparation, restoration of the lands above referred to, which had been forfeited in 1337 through default of rent.

It is significant of the importance of Margam as a Cistercian house that several Irish monasteries of the order were, from time to time, placed under its motherhood, if not precisely as cells of Margam, certainly under the supervision of its abbot and chapter. As far back as the year 1227 the Abbot of Citeaux and the chapter general of abbots had conferred upon Margam the affiliation of the Abbey of Magium, or Maig, county Limerick. The reports furnished by special visitors of the condition of the Cistercian houses in Ireland were so bad that it was at first considered that neither reformation of the rule nor relief from poverty was practicable. The abbot and monks of Margam, however, volunteered to undertake the task of reformation, if the Abbey of Maig were made subject to Margam as a cell, or daughter-house. This zealous abbot may have been Conrad, who held the office in the year 1215; and his efforts were attended with such marked success that Maig survived until the dissolution of the monasteries.

In the following year a similar course was adopted with regard to the Abbey of St. Cross, formerly affiliated to Maig, which was obviously not capable of any such motherhood; and here again the Abbot of Margam stepped in and saved the house from deposition.

More than two hundred years later further responsibilities were

accepted by Margam, whose head was appointed "Father Abbot and visitor" of two more Irish houses.[1]

In July, 1448, by a royal charter of Henry VI., Margam was granted the lordship of Oggemore, or Ogmore, with many privileges. The king bestowed this gift in sign of his piety and affection for the Virgin Mary (to whom the Abbey was dedicated), and it included free fishery in the waters of Oggemore and Garrewe. These fishing rights were of great value to the monks, whose dietary did not permit indulgence in "flesh meat." The lordship of Ogmore, it will be recollected, was bestowed by Robert Fitzhamon, conqueror of Glamorgan, upon William de Londres, one of his twelve chosen knights, as a reward for his services; it was eventually attached to the Duchy of Lancaster, and it was in his capacity as Duke of Lancaster that King Henry made the gift.[2]

There is an interesting sidelight thrown upon the nature of the rights of the monastery in a precept of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Lord of Glamorgan, of the year 1450, addressed to the sheriffs and other officers of Glamorgan, to the effect that they may not collect any fees or dues from Margam Abbey, "nor sell beer, wine, mead, or any tavern to the detriment of the Abbey." The tenacity of monks in the matter of this secular commerce, as also in their secret recipes and sales of liqueurs, such as Benedictine and Chartreuse, is not infrequently regarded as derogatory to, or even contradictory of their solemn professions; but it must be borne in mind that monasteries in past times were called upon to exercise promiscuous hospitality to high and low, to relieve distress, etc., and large funds were needed to meet this outlay. In those days there was no Poor Law, no workhouse or relieving officer; it all fell upon the monks, who voluntarily undertook the burthen as part of their duty.

The end of Margam Abbey as a monastic house was at hand.

In the year 1536 there appears, in the Calendar of State Papers, a "remembrance" to Mr. Cromwell, the king's secretary, for the king's profit, detailing certain confiscations or forfeitures in

[1] "History of Margam Abbey," pp. 219, 221, 345.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 345, 346.

Wales. The first mention is of the "Lordship of Wenloge and Margham in the king's hands"; and again, Wenllog, Marghan, and other lordships "in the king's hands"; and some others besides "in the queen's hands"[1] (This was Jane Seymour, mother of King Edward VI., to whom Henry had been married in that same year, immediately after the execution of Anne Boleyn. Jane was happy enough to die in her bed like a Christian!)

On February 28, 1537, the abbot, Lewis, surrendered the Abbey to the king, and was awarded a pension of twenty pounds per annum.[1]

In spite of the appeal of the Abbot of Margam in the fourteenth century, deploring the lack of funds, and the injuries and absence of important benefactions from which the monastery suffered in the fifteenth century, it had evidently become more prosperous before the Dissolution, for the annual value is reckoned at £188 14s. gross, and £181 7s. 8d. net, after deduction of certain charges.[2]

As usual, there were plenty of bidders for the possession of these lands, etc. It is worthy of note that certain portions of ecclesiastical spoil were said to be "in the queen's hands"; in other words, Henry, not having as yet become tired of Jane Seymour, made her a present of some of his ill-gotten gains.

The history of the dissolution of the monasteries cannot, however, be enlarged upon in these pages; it is fully recounted in many volumes dealing with the times, as well as in State records which, in their bald and terse statement of facts, constitute perhaps a more drastic condemnation of the Tudor tyrant than the more stilted periods of historians. It was one of the most flagrant acts of oppression and rapacity in Henry's reign, and will remain for all time as a monument of iniquity, *malgré* the efforts of Mr. Froude and other writers to whitewash the Tudors.[3]

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[1] "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII."

[2] "Valor Ecclesiasticus," Henry VIII. Vol. iv., p. 351. For details *vide* Appendix.

[3] The author of "A History of Margam Abbey" alludes to the dissolution of the monasteries as "a political act, apt to be too often construed as a personal act of the king." It was, indeed, suggested by Thomas Cromwell, but the king greedily acted upon the hint; and of what nature was the "policy" involved, other than that of pure gain at the expense of unoffending persons, it is not easy to perceive.

Margam Abbey, with all its property, was now on the market, subject to the king's permission to purchase. It eventually became the property of Sir Rhys Mansel; the details of the manner in which the transfer was effected will be given in dealing with Sir Rhys's life.

Margam Abbey thus passes from its ancient *status* as a monastery to that of a private property. The genealogy of its new possessor and the fortunes of his family are dealt with elsewhere; it remains to give some description of the building and its surroundings, without dwelling too much upon architectural technicalities.

The site selected was excellent, whether from the point of view of the dweller in the Abbey, or the wayfarer who derives some pleasure from the contemplation of a noble building suitably situated. The Abbey stood upon a platform, sloping gently towards the sea, backed on the north by a range of hills, richly wooded in most parts. A deep ravine intersects the range most effectively, carrying a mountain stream which served to keep the fish-ponds brimming, and thus possessed utilitarian as well as æsthetic merit.

The Abbey church was of generous dimensions, measuring about 270 feet in the interior, with a total breadth of 60 feet; the choir was of liberal size, as was the practice in monastic buildings, providing space for a large community to assemble for the chanting of the daily office and the celebration of Mass. The church was cruciform in design, with two short and wide transepts; there is no indication, however, of that most effective feature, the central tower, surmounting the crossing, or indeed of any towers whatever. The choir terminated at the east end with a flat wall, in place of the more attractive and artistic apse, which is a common feature of early churches. The cloister was on the south-west, the nave wall forming its north side, the refectory forming the southern boundary. The chapter house was to the south-east, with an entrance vestibule from the cloister. This appears to have been a very beautiful piece of work; a central column, or pier, of delicate and elaborate design, formed the main support of the roof, and from this there sprang a fan-vaulting of many members. The interior effect must have been extremely attractive. The exterior was twelve-sided, the interior

circular, but divided by the shafts of the vaulting into twelve compartments.

The architecture of the Abbey church and buildings appears to have been in varied styles: Norman, Early English, Early Decorated, each has its representative portion. The erection of such large buildings at that period was an almost incredibly slow business; and though Margam Abbey was probably commenced about 1147, under Norman influence, it is not surprising to find different ideas creeping in with the lapse of years, while there were, no doubt, later modifications and reconstructions. The history of these doings is extremely vague, however, and the remains of the buildings alone afford material for a more or less conjectural account of their architectural vicissitudes.[1]

A portion of the Abbey church, partially rebuilt, was in use for many years as the parish church of Margam, and there are some interesting Mansel tombs and inscriptions, of which illustrations will be given. The various members of the family named on these monuments are fully dealt with in their proper genealogical order.

THE OLD CHURCH AT MARGAM; FROM DINELY'S PROGRESS.

[1] More details may be found in a series of articles by Mr. G. T. Clark, under the title "Contributions towards a Cartulary of Margam." Archæologia Cambrensis (third series), Vols. xiii, xiv.

CHAPTER VII

Oxwich and Penrice Castles, etc.

THE peninsula of Gower, upon which were situated the manors and castles of Oxwich and Penrice, is a portion of the county of Glamorgan; but, by reason of the conformation of the coastline, it suggests a certain aloofness almost amounting to insularity. Starting from the western extremity of Swansea Bay, the coastline runs, with many irregularities, round to the mouth of the River Dulas, enclosing a well-marked peninsula, of elongated form, some twenty miles in extreme length, and of an average breadth of about eight or nine miles; at its narrowest part it scarcely exceeds five miles.

This tendency to geographical or physical isolation has its parallel in the history and traditions of Gower and its inhabitants.

The accounts of the Norman conquest of the peninsula are somewhat conflicting. According to some writers, Bernard de Newmarch, the conqueror of Brecknock, was alone concerned in it; it appears more probable, however, that Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, was the real invader, though he may have been assisted by Newmarch, who had a score to settle with the men of Gower, by reason of their having assisted the inhabitants of Brecknock in an attempt to throw off the Norman yoke—an attempt which, though for a moment successful, ended in the triumph of the invaders, thanks, in great measure, to the assistance of Henry de Newburgh; hence it is more than probable that these two were associated in the subjugation of the Gower peninsula.

This was probably in the first year of the reign of Henry I., or the last year of William Rufus—1100. In the reign of Henry II., according to Camden, Gower, by agreement between Thomas, Earl

OXWICH CASTLE, FROM THE MEADOW, 1614

of Warwick, and the king, passed to the Crown, and was eventually bestowed by King John upon William de Breos, or Braose.

From this summary of events it will be realised that Gower formed no part of the territory subdued by Robert Fitzhamon and his twelve knights. Though it now forms part of the county of Glamorgan, it was apparently in these early days distinct from it; and, from its very configuration, this appears to be natural and probable.

Gower is not, however, isolated solely from a geographical point of view: its people are curiously distinct in their language and character from their immediate neighbours; and this is ascribed to the fact that, in the year 1106, or thereabouts, after a series of disastrous floods in the Low Countries, a large number of Flemings crossed to Britain, and established themselves in the northern counties. The king, Henry I., however, dislodged them from this part of his realm, and sent them to Pembrokeshire, whence, it is stated, some of them passed into Gower. Various opinions have been expressed upon this point, which are well summed up in a discussion ensuing upon a paper read before the Cambrian Archæological Society, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in 1861, the upshot of which tends to uphold the hypothesis above stated.

The curious result of this Fleming immigration was that the inhabitants of Gower have maintained distinct racial characteristics ever since, and that English is the common language, and has been so from time immemorial, in place of Welsh, which was spoken by the inhabitants of the neighbouring territory. The Flemish and English tongues have, of course, a certain resemblance, while that of Wales is entirely dissimilar from either.

On the south shore of the Gower peninsula, which is not thus named in modern atlases, appearing merely as part of Glamorgan, lies Oxwich Bay; upon Oxwich Head, the western extremity of the bay, stands Oxwich Castle, in a commanding position, completely overlooking the approaches to the bay; while about three miles to the northward lies Penrice, also quite near to the sea.

As will be recollected, the manor of Oxwich was stated by several chroniclers, heralds, and so forth, to have been bestowed by

Sir Henry Harley upon Philip Mansel, at the time of the Conquest, or soon after ;[1] this hypothesis is, however, quite untenable ; Oxwich certainly did not come into the possession of the Mansels until very much later. It was held by John de Braose, brother of William, Lord of Gower. John probably built the castle, and the manor and castle passed to the de la Mares, by the marriage of John's granddaughter and heiress, Agnes, with Robert de la Mare. There is a tradition that this pair were drowned in Oxwich Bay, and a monument in Oxwich church is said to have been erected to their memory, though there is no name or inscription to vouch for the fact.

This monument is placed in a niche or recess on the north side of the chancel, surmounted by an enriched canopy of stone. The figures are recumbent, and represent a knight and his lady, the former being clad in armour of mixed mail and plate, and the latter in the flowing dress and loose falling sleeves of the period—those sleeves, or a modification of them, which were responsible for the adoption of the *maunche* as an armorial device. There is no inscription or date to support the tradition that these figures represent Robert de la Mare and his wife ; but from time immemorial the niche has been known as "Doolamuir's Hole," and the presumption is in favour of the truth of the story. Two illustrations are here given of the monument.

As to the history of Oxwich Castle and manor, there does not appear to be very much authentic material. Gower had several castles, no doubt erected by the Normans for defensive purposes against the attacks of the turbulent Welshmen. There are considerable remains of Oxwich Castle still in existence. Mr. Frederick Chas. Cliffe, in his "Book of South Wales," gives an illustration of the tower, or keep, as it appeared in 1847, "divided into six storeys, and lighted on three sides by numerous round-headed windows, irregularly placed. There are the remains of only two fireplaces visible in the interior. The adjoining state apartments are sumptuous, and are externally in tolerable preservation. On the south side of the courtyard is a range of ancient buildings, now occupied as a

[1] See *ante*, p. 39.

farmhouse, of interesting character; the entrance to the courtyard is under a fine Tudor doorway, over which is carved the arms of the Mansels, in very perfect preservation, with the initials R. M."[1]

Mr. E. A. Freeman, in a paper read at Cardiff upon the antiquities of Gower in 1850, remarks: "Turning to the domestic remains of the peninsula, we shall find a valuable connecting link between them and its military edifices supplied by the castle at Oxwich. Here we have a manifest case of transition between the old type of fortress, only accidentally domestic, and the fortified mansion, only accidentally military. The result at Oxwich is certainly not satisfactory, the appearance being that of a large perpendicular mansion carried along at the complete elevation of a castle tower. There are a multitude of small, square-headed windows, of two lights, and—chiefly in the more exposed front—of broad single-light windows with depressed heads, a most untoward form, but which is probably owing to a retention of castellated ideas. In the upper range is a row of very large perpendicular windows, showing that the hall and other principal apartments must have been placed in this elevated and airy position. A great part of this castle is converted into a farmhouse, which contains some very good bits of domestic work, of which it is not always easy to say whether they are parts of the original building, or have been added at a subsequent, though not very distant, period."[2]

Such are some of the impressions produced upon observant and instructed travellers or antiquaries by the remains of Oxwich Castle; the illustrations here supplied will serve to supplement their remarks, and convey to the reader a more or less correct idea of the original structure and appearance of this ancient stronghold.

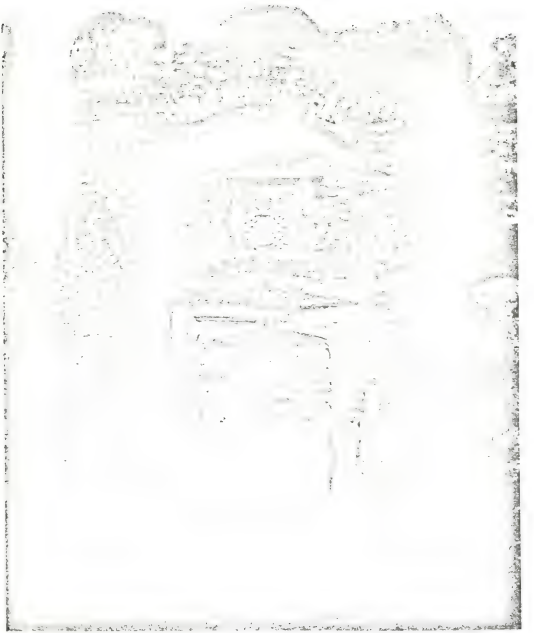
Oxwich church does not appear to possess any especial interest, save in the matter of the monument already alluded to, and in its striking position, almost overhanging the shore. The Parsonage House, according to Mr. Cliffe, is an "object of interest," but he makes no allusion to the destruction of the old parsonage by the

[1] "Book of South Wales," etc., by Frederick C. Cliffe; p. 220. 1848.

[2] Arch. Camb., Series II., Vol. i., pp. 60, 61.

action of the sea. This took place, according to Mr. J. D. Davies, about the year 1805; he also mentions two great rock-slips, one in 1855, the other in 1872; and on one of these occasions—he does not say which—there was the curious result of the drying up of an old well in the upper part of the churchyard, which had from time immemorial furnished the inhabitants with a never-failing supply of good water. Mr. Davies, who was born at Oxwich Rectory, acknowledges to a superstitious awe which always deterred him as a boy, and even in later years, from venturing within the dark cavernous hollow which contained the well; "in fact," he says, "it was a place that few people would have cared to visit with their pitchers at night, and I do not suppose anybody ever did, for apparitions were not uncommon in those days."

This remark appears to invest Oxwich with a reputation for ghostly visitations, and the impression is enhanced by a story which Mr. Davies relates of an incident which occurred to members of his own family. "My elder brother, now deceased, when a lad of about thirteen or fourteen years of age, had been out one evening with my father, fishing in the bay; it was late when they landed, and by the time they had finished mooring the boat it was nearly twelve o'clock. They had just gained the top of the beach, which here abuts the narrow path leading to the church, when my brother, happening to look behind him, saw what he described to me to be a white horse walking on his hind legs, and proceeding leisurely along the path towards the church gate. Having called my father's attention to this strange spectacle, he turned round, and they both stood for about a minute, and watched the creature, or whatever it was, until it reached the gate, or rather the stone stile by its side, which the animal crossed, apparently without the slightest difficulty, still going on its hind legs. The uncanny thing then disappeared. The only remark my father made was, 'Come along.' They were soon inside the rectory, which was only a few yards distant. This strange adventure was never afterwards spoken of by my father, nor alluded to in any way. I have often been on the point of questioning him about it, but some vague feeling of undefined alarm always prevented me."



THE GATEWAY OF OXWICH CASTLE, 1914.

Mr. J. D. Davies writes this about the year 1894, so this curious apparition, visible simultaneously to a couple of persons, is an incident of quite modern times. It is impossible to question the genuineness of the tale, and equally impossible to account for such an incongruous midnight visitant to Oxwich churchyard; so there the matter must rest.

Oxwich Castle and manor, as has already been stated, passed to the de la Mares by marriage; the daughter and heiress of Robert de la Mare, being seized of the manor of Oxwich, married Sir Robert Penrice, of Penrice Castle, whose son, Sir John Penrice, had an only child, Isabel, who married Sir Hugh Mansel, the two castles thus coming into the possession of the Mansels.

The additions and adaptations at Oxwich Castle were carried out by Sir Rhys Mansel, some time previous to the year 1557, when there is evidence that he was in residence there; this will be made clear in the forthcoming chapter concerning Sir Rhys. There is a local tradition that, during the process of building, a stone fell from the wall and killed the wife of Sir Rhys; this, however, is, like many similar traditions, entirely without foundation. It probably has its origin in the fact that, during an *émeute* at the castle entrance—also to be dealt with later on—Mrs. Anne Mansel was killed by a stone.

The period during which the castle continued to be occupied as a residence by the Mansels appears to be somewhat uncertain; but from a deed of June 5, 1658, it would appear that Edward Mansel (probably Edward, fourth baronet of Margam) resided there, as he is alluded to as "of Oxwich."[1] Possibly this Edward, or Sir Edward, who died in 1706, was the last to occupy the castle, for in 1694 it was leased by Sir Edward to Francis Beavan, or Bevan. Mr. Davies states that "the present Mr. Francis Bevan of Oxwich Castle (1894) is a direct descendant of a family of that name, who have lived there and held the farm from father to son as tenants under the families of Mansel and Talbot for at least 200 years."[2]

There had apparently been an intermediate lease in 1632, for

[1] "History of West Gower," by J. D. Davies. Vol. ix., p. 198.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 199.

it is on record in that year that "John Rowe holdeth the Castle and farme of Oxwich . . . but for what tearme and upon what condicions wee knowe not." [1]

Oxwich Castle remains, a nondescript collection of ancient and more or less modern construction, as described by Mr. E. A. Freeman, quoted above—more interesting, perhaps, than beautiful.

Penrice Castle [2] is said to have been built by Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, but it was more probably the work of some of the early Norman knights who held lands under the earl.

The castle stands upon a well-chosen site, defended upon three sides by the steep and rocky eminence on which it stands. On the north side, which is the weakest part, the ground being nearly level, is the entrance, flanked by two massive towers, the gateway deeply recessed between them, with indications of a portcullis and a drawbridge, the latter apparently crossing a deep pit, as there is no indication of a regular moat.

In plan the castle is composed of a principal court, of irregular figure, enclosed upon three sides by "curtain" walls only; the gateway, as stated, occupying, with its defences, the fourth side.

About half a mile south-west of the castle, and close to the village and the parish church, there is an ancient circular earthwork, which tradition has long attributed to the Danes; it is locally known as the "Mounty Brook." Mr. J. D. Davies, however, advances the theory, originated by Colonel W. Ll. Morgan, R.E., of Swansea, that this was an outwork constructed by the Norman builders of the castle for defensive purposes during the process of erection; and he further states, in corroboration of this hypothesis, that a subterranean passage is said to have existed between the castle and this outwork, closed in the centre by a large stone; which stone one John Eynon, seventy-nine years of age in 1881, said that his father had assisted in

[1] "Surveys of Gower and Kilvey," etc., edited by Charles Baker and G. G. Francis, p. 135.

[2] This method of spelling the name, "Penrice," appears to have been adopted—with the variant of "Penreas"—by modern writers, in preference to the old one of "Penrhys," both with regard to the locality and the family. This is to be regretted, as the original had at least an intelligible root, whereas the later form is merely a phonetic perversion. Possibly this anglicised form was the outcome of the linguistic isolation of the men of Gower, already alluded to.

removing. This is very feasible and interesting, but it is of course impossible to get beyond conjecture on such a point.

The general aspect of Penrice Castle at the present day will be seen in the illustrations, together with the modern building.

There is an interesting feature which has usually been overlooked in descriptions of Penrice Castle; this is the exceptionally well-preserved dovecote, or "columbarium," at the south-east angle.

These solidly built stone pigeon-houses, attached to many ancient castles and defensive works, appear to have been of Norman origin, the right of keeping pigeons being confined to the Lord of the Manor. The modern pigeon-house, usually a wooden structure surmounting a stout pole or column, also of wood, is a very flimsy and paltry affair compared with these Norman dovecotes. That at Penrice Castle is attached to, but outside the wall, and suggests at first sight a flanking work for defensive purposes. It is about twenty feet in height, and pierced with a very large number of pigeon-holes, estimated by Mr. Davies at about five hundred; each hole turns at right angles inside.

Oxwich Castle also possesses a dovecote of like description, but originally somewhat smaller, and not in such a good state of preservation.

There does not appear to be any precise record as to the first possessors of Penrice Castle; Mr. Davies, however, in this same "History of West Gower," transcribes an inspection and confirmation of former charters by Anselm, Bishop of Menevia, of the year 1230; and from the allusion to his "predecessors Peter and Gervase," whose confirmations are hereby ratified, the author draws the perfectly just and logical conclusion that one Sir Robert de Penrice was in possession in the twelfth century, between 1176 and 1198, the limiting years of the episcopate of Peter de Leia; this Sir Robert's gift of the Church of St. Andrew de Penrice being among the benefactions, confirmed by Anselm, to the Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Slebech, in Pembrokeshire.

In further elucidation of the Penrice descent, Mr. Davies refers to the Mansel pedigree, compiled in 1603 by Ralph Brooke, York herald; it is now at Margam Abbey, and is said to be eight feet long, and embellished with a huge number of shields of the various families. Mr.

Davies holds the view that, as this is "the only genuine and authentic pedigree, and now for the first time published, it must be considered, as it would be considered in a court of law, as conclusive, and superseding all others as evidence on points of ancestry down to that date" (1603). Mr. Davies gives this pedigree in a contracted form, as he says, and without the numerous shields with which Ralph Brooke embellished it, and another by a "very eminent genealogist who signs himself J. H., but whose real name is unknown," carrying on the Mansel pedigree to the early part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Davies will not find that most genealogists share his absolute faith in Ralph Brooke's production. It is not officially ratified by the College of Arms, nor could it be; for in the early stages the various steps must rest to a great extent upon conjecture, and cannot, in any true sense, be termed authentic; while the blind acceptance of a sixteenth or seventeenth-century herald's genealogical effusion as evidence in a court of law would certainly be a most astonishing proceeding.

However, as Mr. Davies points out, the first Penrice mentioned in this pedigree is Robert, Lord of Penrice, who married Agnes, daughter and heir of Robert de la Mare; but there is no date given. Succeeding this Robert comes his son and heir, Sir Robert de Penrice, Lord of Penrice, Oxwich, and Porteynon; again without date. His son and heir, yet another Sir Robert, holding the same estates, is stated to have been alive in 1203, and thus was probably that Sir Robert who made the gift of the Church of Penrice to the Hospitallers, some time between 1176 and 1198; while, as Mr. Davies surmises, his grandfather, the first Robert in the pedigree, might well have assisted in the conquest of Gower, in 1099.

Here, however, we come upon one of those anachronisms which so constantly arise in early genealogical work.

Mr. G. T. Clark, a very careful writer, in his genealogy of the de la Mares of Oxwich, places the Robert, whose daughter Agnes married Robert Penrice, two generations later than does Ralph Brooke; while in his pedigree of Penrice of Penrice, Mr. Clark appears to place this marriage at a still later period.

THE DE LA MARE TOMB, OXWICH CHURCH

[To face page 28

This writer gives two alternative de la Mare pedigrees, which may fittingly be inserted here.

DE LA MARE OF GOWER

ROBERT DE LA MARE = Joan, dau. and heir of William, son of John de Braose of Llandinas, younger brother of William de Braose of Gower

ANN DE LA MARE = — Penrice

SIR JOHN PENRICE of Penrice in Gower

JOHN PENRICE

ISABEL PENRICE, dau. and heir = Sir Hugh Mansel

Here it is *Ann*, not Agnes, who is stated to have married a Penrice; but the two names are not infrequently confused in old genealogies. The pedigree is absolutely void of dates; it is known that Sir Hugh Mansel was living in 1367, so the chronology is at variance both with that of Ralph Brooke and of Mr. Clark, in the Penrice pedigree.

The other pedigree is:

DE LA MARE OF OXWICH (ANOTHER VERSION).

JOHN DE LA MARE, of Oxwich, and Port Eynon in Gower = Agnes, dau. and heir of Osmund le Gros

WILLIAM DE LA MARE, of Oxwich

WILLIAM DE LA MARE, of Oxwich = Jenet, dau. and co-heir of David ap John Goch of Neath

JOHN DE LA MARE, of Oxwich

ROBERT DE LA MARE, of Oxwich (held 4 fees in the Honour of Gloucester, 1201) (Rotuli Cancellarii, 45)

AGNES DE LA MARE, of Oxwich = Robert Penrice of Penrice

This brings Agnes into the same generation, roughly, as Ann in the preceding pedigree.

Mr. Clark, however, practically disclaims precise authenticity with regard to the Penrice and de la Mare pedigrees. Of the former he says: "The founder of this family was certainly a retainer of the first Norman Lord of Gower, and derived his name from the manor and parish of Penrice in that district. . . . Unfortunately, the Lords of Penrice, like most of their neighbours, held of the Signory of Gower and not direct from the Crown, on which account most of the records relating to their property have perished, and the evidence as to the details of their pedigree is exceedingly obscure and unsatisfactory."

Of the de la Mares he says: "The family was very numerous, and their pedigree is exceedingly ill recorded."

It appears doubtful whether Robert de la Mare of the second pedigree was the son of John; there is a Robert in the Fine Rolls of 1236 who is also of Gloucester,[1] and is the son of Henry; but there may of course have been two contemporary Roberts.

The only point which seems to be established is that Penrice Castle was held by a Penrice from very early days.

Near to Penrice Park is a field named The Kettles, in the middle of which is a vast mound which is called "Kettle Top." There is a story that, in ancient times, a man shot an arrow from Kettle Top which passed through a window in Penrice Castle, and killed a man inside. Mr. Davies says it must have been a long shot, though he gives no estimate of the range. Possibly it was from a cross-bow, as he suggests; the powerful cross-bows of those days, with a little winch at the butt to string them, often discharged a short iron bolt with a barbed head.

The Church of St. Andrew, at Penrice, which, as above related, was given by Sir Robert Penrice to the Knights Hospitallers of Slebech, was, after the dissolution of religious houses by Henry VIII., appropriated to the Hospital of St. David, at Swansea, all the endowments of which were subsequently seized and confiscated to the Crown in the reign of Edward VI.

[1] Excerpta e Rot. Fin. Vol. i., p. 299

THE DE LA MARE TOMB, ANOTHER VIEW
Figures only.

Mr. Davies remarks upon the dearth of monuments in this church, which he attributes, very probably with justice, to the reckless and malignant iconoclasm of the early "reformers," upon which Weever has a good deal to say in his "Funeral Monuments," and which reached such a pitch later on as to shock the not very tender susceptibilities of "Good Queen Bess," who issued a proclamation forbidding such destruction or defacement of "monuments of Antiquitie, being set up in Churches, or other public places, for memory and not for superstition." Apparently a clean sweep had been made at Penrice before the promulgation of this edict.

The porch of the church is of such remarkable size that Mr. Davies thinks it may have been used for a school; it has also a somewhat unusual inner doorway, with an arch sustained by a solid oak frame.

Penrice Castle remains as a ruin; but a modern mansion has been built near by, and, if report be correct, there was an earlier one, since pulled down, between the castle and the site of the present building. The original castle was dismantled—"disgarrisoned and slighted"—in Cromwell's time. Either this or the second building was occupied in the seventeenth century by a family named Bennett for several generations;[1] and subsequently this house, named Penrice Castle, was in occupation by the Mansels after the old castle was rendered untenantable.

The present building was commenced about the year 1774 by Thomas Mansel Talbot, Esq., and was completed about 1780, the intermediate structure being then demolished.

According to Mr. Davies, the architect was Mr. Anthony Kech (or Keck), of Gloucester[2] (as appears from old accounts). The stone was brought from quarries on the Margam estate. The grounds are laid out in beautiful style, and there is a large sheet of water, well stocked with fish.

Here also were stored the huge collection of manuscripts,

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[1] "Surveys of Gower and Kilvey," etc., p. 241.

[2] Probably of the same family as Sir Anthony Keck, of Long Marston, Gloucester, a barrister, and Commissioner of the Great Seal; b. 1630, d. 1695.

relating chiefly to the family of Mansel, which have been collated and edited by Dr. W. de G. Birch.

Miss Emily Charlotte Talbot, the present owner of the Margam and Penrice estates, has generously placed Penrice Castle at the disposal of the Red Cross Society, as a nursing and convalescent home for officers of Australian and New Zealand forces, at her own cost.

Other castles of Gower—Scurlage, Oystermouth, Pennard, Kidwelly—will receive mention as occasion offers ; it is now proposed to discuss the various pedigrees of the Welsh Mansels, and the date of their earliest connection with Wales.

THE MODERN HOUSE AT PENRICE, 1914.

Showing the Lake in the foreground, the Old Castle in the background,
and the Royal Oak planted by King Edward

CHAPTER VIII

Derivation and Descent of the Welsh Mansels

THE period at which the Mansels first settled in Wales cannot be determined with accuracy, nor is it clear whence they came.

There is a certain Henry Mansel, concerning whom several genealogies concur in the statement that "he came first into Wales," but no proof of the assertion is offered, nor would it, indeed, be very easy of proof; the fact, could it be established, that one Henry Mansel settled in Wales within a certain limit of time, or even in one particular year, would afford no guarantee that he was the first of the name to arrive.

The heralds or others who put forward this statement with so much confidence are by no means unanimous as to the generation, reckoning from Philip "who came with the Conqueror," in which this Henry should appear; some place him before Sir John Maunsell of the time of Henry III., others later. Both Ralph Brooke and "J. H.," whose genealogies, already alluded to, are reproduced by Mr. Davies with so much confidence, place him as grandson to Sir John, *i.e.*, as flourishing well on in the thirteenth century; but "J. H." has three generations to Sir John, while Brooke shows five. This is but one out of many similar discrepancies; it is impossible to take Henry seriously as the "first who came into Wales"; he is altogether too shadowy and unsubstantial to be admitted to a place in this history. There are, indeed, several Henrys to be found about the same period; for some reason which is not revealed, one of these has been selected by some genealogist as the pioneer of the Mansels, and others have copied him.

Rejecting Henry, therefore, the next step is to consider what is the earliest available evidence of the presence of Mansels in Wales,

and this places us at once upon more substantial ground. While it is not, indeed, possible to state roundly that such an one was the first to settle there, there is the indisputable record of ancient deeds and charters to prove that Mansels resided in Wales in a certain year, and therefore, almost certainly, before that year.

In a charter already alluded to in the chapter on Margam Abbey, one Mansel is a witness; no Christian name or initial is given. The deed is not dated, but from certain evidences it was certainly executed within about the last twenty years of the twelfth century.[1]

This is the first mention of a Mansel in Wales, and there is nothing to show what county he came from; possibly from Gloucestershire, as we know that one William Mansel held lands there of Henry de Novo Mercato in 1166, and the county, of course, borders upon Wales.

A few years later there is mention of one John Mansel, who was witness, together with William de Cantelupe and others, to an agreement between William de Barri and John de le Mare; this deed is dated "before Easter, 1201," and concerns certain rents in Gower.[2]

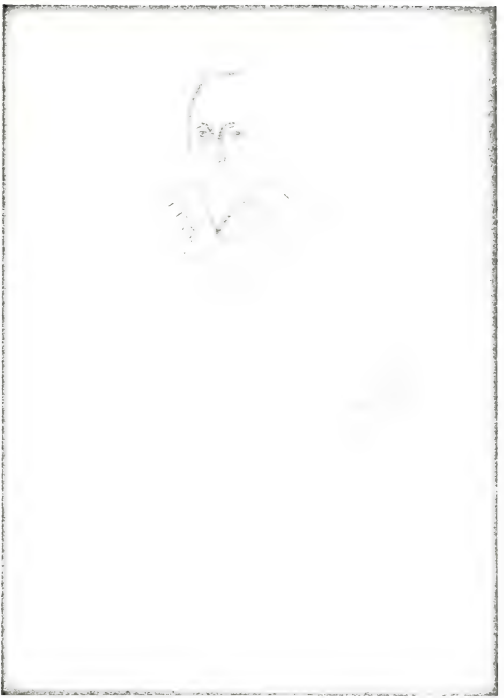
As the first Mansel named, without initial, is too vague to start from, this John Mansel of 1201 must be adopted as the probable pioneer of his family in Wales. Possibly he is identical with the other; at any rate, the assumption is quite justifiable that the Mansels were established in Wales some time during the latter half or towards the end of the twelfth century.

Nothing further is known of John Mansel; Ralph Brooke has a John, grandson of Philip Mansel of Conquest times, "of whom the Mansels of Wales and Buckinghamshire descend"; but Brooke's chronology is too vague and unreliable to depend upon; according to him, the *grandson* of this John was witness to a charter in the time of Richard I. (1189-1199), which does not appear probable if he was the John who is mentioned in 1201.

The pedigree of the Mansels of Wales must, of course, eventually be merged in the general pedigree from Philip I.; the point at which they diverge is not very easy of determination.

[1] "Penrice and Margam Manuscripts," by W. de G. Birch. Series I., p. 16.

[2] "Cartæ et Monimenta de Glamorgan." Vol. iii., p. 263.



SIR HUGH MANSEL, KNIGHT,

who married Isobel, sister and [illegible] Sir John Pennice, Knight

(as stated [illegible] Lipsinting)

He was living in 1907 and 1909.

One of the most reasonable and well-attested Mansel pedigrees extant was compiled by Lieutenant Evan Morton Mansel-Pleydell, of the Royal Horse Artillery, who died at Lucknow in 1911. He is concerned with the "Welsh Family of Mansel or Mansell," and he does not pretend to trace the family back to the Conquest. He says: "If Philip was a direct ancestor, about four generations would lapse between him and John Mansel, who is the first mentioned member of the family in South Wales." And from this John he proceeds to trace the descent, giving references for his various statements as far as possible, though there is, of necessity, a certain amount of conjecture in the earliest steps; and there is likewise a regrettable vagueness in the references, such as has been already noticed in other genealogies. The descriptive catalogue of the Penrice MSS., by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, was published long before this pedigree was compiled, and might with advantage have been utilised, by giving the number of the MS. quoted in this collation. "Penrice MSS." is a very unsatisfactory sort of reference, involving considerable labour in verification; but verification is apparently the last thing which chroniclers of the Maunsell family desire or expect; they assume that their very confident assertions and deductions will be blindly accepted without more ado. Abundant proof has already been afforded in these pages of the futility of this attitude.

However, Lieutenant Mansel-Pleydell's pedigree bears the stamp of obvious sincerity and painstaking research, and is on this account entitled to respect and consideration. A comparison of his genealogy with that adduced by R. G. Maunsell, down to the point at which they merge, will be instructive, only the direct succession, through eldest sons, being included therein.

It is worthy of note that Sir Robert Maunsell, the Crusader, to whose exploit at Tripoli allusion has already been made, is styled by William, Archbishop of Tyre, "a knight from Wales," and is said to have brought a detachment of Welshmen among his retainers. This, it will be recollected, was in the year 1163. William of Tyre must obviously have had some ground for this statement, and it appears to point to an earlier connection of the Mansels with Wales than is here contemplated. There is, however, no means of testing

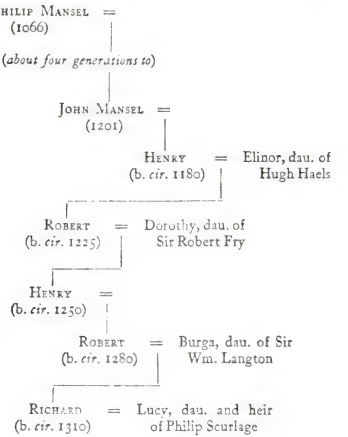
the point; there is no evidence to connect Sir Robert's father, Raffe or Ralph, with Wales; he is located near Tickford, in Bucks, where, as will be recollected, he gave certain lands to Tickford Priory.

R. G. MAUNSELL'S PEDIGREE

- PHILIP MANSEL (1066) = dau. of Mountsorrel (m. *cir.* 1067)
  - HENRY (b. *cir.* 1068, m. *cir.* 1089) = Emma, sister to Sir Rich. de Lucy
    - JOHN (b. *cir.* 1090, m. *cir.* 1112) = Elaine, dau. of (?) de Lutterell
      - RALPH (b. *cir.* 1113, m. *cir.* 1135) = Cecily, dau. of Gervaise Paganel
        - ROBERT (or Sayer) (b. *cir.* 1136, m. *cir.* 1165) = Joice, dau. of Wm. de Alneto
          - WALTER = Hawisia, dau. of John de Somerie
            - SIR JOHN (chancellor, *temp.* Hen. III.) = Joan, dau. and heir of Simon Beauchamp
              - Johanna (2nd wife) = THOMAS = Hana, dau. of Sir Henry Grey
                - HENRY = Ellinor, dau. of Hugh Haels
                - WALTER = Emma, dau. of Sir Wm. Langton
                - ROBERT = Dorothy, dau. of Sir Richard Fry
                - RICHARD (b. *cir.* 1310) = Lucy, dau. and heir of Philip Scurlage

ENTRANCE TO OLD PENRICE CASTLE, 1614.

LIEUTENANT MANSEL-PLEYDELL'S PEDIGREE



Here are some very obvious discrepancies; for instance, Elinor, daughter of Hugh Haels, was married, according to Lieutenant Mansel-Pleydell, very early in the thirteenth century, while R. G. Maunsell places her as the wife of Sir John Maunsell's grandson, who could not have been born before about the middle of that century. Again, although both genealogists record a marriage between one Robert Mansel and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard (or Robert) Fry, Lieutenant Mansel-Pleydell places this Robert two generations earlier than R. G. Maunsell; and while the one includes Sir John Maunsell, *temp.* Henry III., in the regular line of descent, the other entirely ignores him. Furthermore, in the one pedigree there is a marriage of Robert with Burga, daughter of Sir William Langton; in the other Walter Mansel marries Emma, daughter of the said Sir William.

Nevertheless, each biographer arrives at Sir Richard, who married Lucy, daughter of Philip Scurlage, at about the same period,

though R. G. Maunsell gives one more generation than Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell, counting from Philip of the Conquest.

It must be admitted, however, in justice to Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell, that he concedes some uncertainty in the earlier steps, placing Henry as *probably* son to the John of 1201, and Robert as *probably* the son of Henry. Of the latter he says: "He is stated in old pedigrees to have married Elinor, daughter of Hugh Haels, or ap Howel"; and of his son Robert: "He is said to have married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Robert Fry." In neither instance does he offer any proof, and in some preliminary remarks he roundly characterises the numerous early pedigrees as "grossly inaccurate, and compiled without any foundation," alluding specifically to those "dating from the early part of the seventeenth century"; hence his caution in accepting the marriages of Elinor Haels and Dorothy Fry. Nevertheless, he gives as a reference, later on, "Ancient Mansel pedigree, dated 1603," which is probably that of Ralph Brooke.

With regard to the difference of one generation, R. G. Maunsell is more probably correct than Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell, who allows about four generations in one hundred and thirty-five years from Philip. Having in view the early marriages then in vogue, it is quite probable that this period would cover five generations.

These two family chroniclers thus arrive at Richard Mansel, born about 1310, by, so to speak, entirely different routes: there is scarcely a coincidence down the whole line, and where a concord does crop up it is vitiated by a wide divergence in chronology, or some other disability. Mr. R. G. Maunsell is, as usual, absolutely confident in his assertions, disdaining references; while Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell starts out with very plausible probabilities, and refers to certain manuscripts, etc., for corroboration of his later statements. He says, in his prefatory observations: "A John Mansel was living in Gower in 1201, and it is only logical to suppose that he was an ancestor of the Mansels of Gower, though no mention is made of him in early pedigrees."

Genealogy is not compounded, however, of assertions and

suppositions; and before any tolerably credible account of the descent of the Welsh Mansels can be arrived at it is necessary to compare with other authorities, and try whether, out of the mouth of many witnesses, some more precise verdict may not be forthcoming.

Mr. G. T. Clark, one of the highest authorities upon Welsh genealogy, will have none of the "ancient pedigrees," etc., concerning the Mansel family. Under the sub-heading "The Mansels of Oxwich and Margam," he says: "For the early steps in the pedigree the authority is doubtful, and the date of their first connection with Gower is uncertain," and deals summarily with the early genealogy:

Henry Mansel, said to have been settled in Gower in the reign of Edward I. From him probably came:

RICHARD *or* ROBERT MANSEL = Bridget, dau. and heir of Wm. Langton of Gower

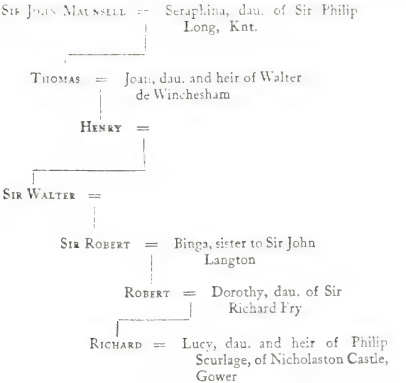
RICHARD MANSEL = Lucy, dau. and heir of Sir Philip Scurlage of Scurlage Castle, in Gower [1]

This is sufficiently meagre; we recognise the shadowy Henry, who is said by Ralph Brooke to have settled in Wales in the reign of Edward II., and by others at various periods. Mr. Clark will venture no warrant for him, or for any preceding Mansel; and certainly there is logic in this cautious attitude.

Mr. W. W. Mansell has been proved in so many instances to be absolutely unreliable, that it is scarcely to be expected that he will throw much light upon the matter. His genealogy, down to Sir John, *temp.* Henry III., has already been compared with that of R. G. Maunsell.[2] Starting from this point, he arrives at Richard Mansel as follows:

[1] "Limbus Patrum Morganiæ et Glamorganiæ," by G. T. Clark; p. 494.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 48, 55.



W. W. Mansell inserts an extra Robert, as compared with R. G. Maunsell, but he is probably in error; indeed, both these writers appear to crowd in too many generations between Sir John Maunsell and Richard. This last named had a son, Hugh, with whom we are not concerned at the moment, save in reference to the statement, derived by both authors from an identical source, that this Hugh and his father-in-law, Sir John Penrhys, *were both living in* 1367. This agrees with Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell's contention that Richard Mansel was born very early in the fourteenth century; he would be, presumably, of the same generation as Sir John Penrhys, who was living, according to Mr. G. T. Clark, 1319-1394. Mr. R. G. Maunsell's five generations from Sir John are very closely packed into a trifle over a century, while W. W. Mansell's six generations are, *a fortiori*, still more improbable.

Ralph Brooke, in his long pedigree, represents Robert Mansell, *grandfather* to Richard, as living in 1374, which puts Richard on the best part of a century! This is, however, obviously an anachronism.

It is difficult to decide between the merits or demerits of these conflicting testimonies; the tangle involves not merely the derivation of the Welsh Mansels, but of the whole family, root and branch. The

references given by Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell to the Penrice and other manuscripts appear to be genuine; in one instance, however, there is a curious confusion, apparently as to the date of a deed in favour of Robert, son of that Henry who is said to have been born about 1250; or, at any rate, assumed to be so by the writer, who relies upon this deed in proof of the relationship. This is a grant, by John Bloncaynel, of land in Penmayne, in Gower, to Robert, son of Henry Mansel; it occurs among the Francis MSS., quoted by G. T. Clark in his "Cartæ et Munimenta," and appears twice, the wording and names of witnesses being identical. On p. 1080 it is stated to be of the year 1320, but a footnote is appended, "With apparent accuracy called circa 1420, in Francis's Album of Original Documents." On p. 1485 the replica is given, without comment, with the date 1420. It would appear, therefore, that the deed was made out, as was not infrequently the case, in duplicate, and the two copies have, by some mischance, been labelled a century apart. Among the witnesses are Walter Mansel (spelt *Monsell*), then Constable of Gower, and Henry Mansel, or Monsel, Philip of Neath, Seneschal of Gower, Robert de Penrice, knight. Walter and Henry Mansel may have been brothers of Robert; they do not throw any light upon the chronological question. Sir Robert de Penrice, however, stands as witness not only to the terms of the charter, but to the year in which it was executed; for the Penrice family became extinct before the end of the fourteenth century, as above noted, and so there could not have been a Sir Robert to witness this deed in 1420. It is curious that this fact should have escaped the notice of G. T. Clark and G. G. Francis.

This is all to the credit of Lieut. Mansel-Pleydell, but there is no reconciling these diverse genealogies; their compilers doubtless did their best to trace the various steps, but they were all alike handicapped by the paucity of reliable records in the early stages, and, with regard especially to the Welsh Mansels, by the absence in official papers of all reference to the inheritance and transfer of lands, etc., owing to the fact that these were almost invariably held of the Lordship, and not of the Crown, so that the evidence afforded by payment of fines, and so forth, is lacking. Glamorgan is nowhere mentioned in Testa de Nevill, and only twice in the Pipe Rolls, not

with reference to the Mansels; nor does Gower find any place in either.

There is, no doubt, something to be said for the assumption that John Mansel, who witnessed the deed in 1201, was the ancestor of the Welsh Mansels, but his derivation is unknown. The genealogy of R. G. Maunsell is quite as feasible; they merge in Richard Mansel, born probably about 1310, married to Lucy, daughter of Philip Scurlage, and after this the ground is clear; the only rational procedure therefore appears to lie in the conditional acceptance of the various pedigrees down to this period, giving each compiler credit where it is due. There is much weariness in the comparison of pedigrees, and doubtless the readers of this record have already had enough of it.

The following genealogy is therefore given, as being reasonably authentic, and covering the main line as well as the Welsh Mansels; the various branches will be dealt with separately.

There is also a legend attached to a certain bridge over the River Gwendraeth, at Kidwelly, which is worth while noting; not for the story itself, which is one of the ordinary—or extraordinary—romances so common in Wales; but on account of certain allusions to the Mansel family.

The legend recounts how that Nest, the beautiful daughter of one Elvidir Dhu, then in possession of Kidwelly Castle, fell in love with a young Norman knight, and, after the customary complications with rival lovers and so forth, the young man, meeting the lady at this bridge, was ambushed by a hired ruffian, transfixed with a long arrow, and hurled into the stream before the eyes of his sweetheart, who thereupon promptly threw herself after him—which is all quite in accordance with legendary precedent, as is also the allegation that her white spirit afterwards haunted the bridge, and upon being approached, "vanished, with a piercing scream, into the dark waters of the river." It is not quite clear that a screaming ghost is "according to Cocker," but the bridge, according to Mr. A. G. Bradley ("Highways and Byways of South Wales"), is to this day known as "The Bridge of the White Spirit."

The interest of the tale, with regard to this present work, lies in

the name and residence of the young Norman knight. Mr. Bradley, in the course of his narration, says: "Now at Margam, still a noted country house in Gower, there then lived one of the Mansel family, Sir Walter, young, handsome, and gallant, like all the gilded youth of those days. He had conceived an affection for the fair Nest," etc. (pp. 194-5).

Margam is not, of course, in Gower, and Kidwelly is some five-and-thirty miles distant from it; but the allegation that a certain Sir Walter Mansel dwelt at Margam in the twelfth century—for this is a legend of crusading times—and that there was then existing, not long after the foundation of Margam Abbey, a "country house" there, is interesting. The story may, of course, be an entire invention, the name of Mansel being subsequently introduced as a compliment to the family; but, on the other hand, it points to the possible existence of this Sir Walter, somewhere about the period at which the name of Mansel first appears in a Welsh charter, or a little later; and thus tends to confirm the theory already evolved from other sources, that the Mansels settled in Wales during the latter half of the twelfth century, or possibly at an earlier date.

Pedigree compiled by the late Lieutenant Evan Mansel-Pleydell, R.H.A., with addition and correction where necessary.

RICHARD MANSEL (born about 1310), whose name occurs in Gower deeds dated 1334, 1352, and 1391,[1] married Lucy, daughter and heir of Philip Scurlage, of Scurlage Castle, in Gower, to whose estate he succeeded. He had issue, four sons, HUGH, WILLIAM, ROBERT, and JOHN.

The eldest son, SIR HUGH MANSEL (born about 1340), Knt.-Banneret, of Missenden, Chichele, and Bere end, etc., Bucks, and Scurlage Castle, Gower, married Isabella, daughter and heir of Sir John Penrice, of Penrice and Oxwich Castles, in Gower, and sister

[1] Neath Abbey Charters.

and heir of Sir John Penrice, who, with his nephew, Richard Mansel, is mentioned in a deed dated at Penrice 1394. Sir Hugh and his father were both living in 1307, as stated in Britton Ferry MSS. He also held lands in Brockton, county Salop, under the Earl of Stafford, 1399, and his heir held them in 1467 under Humphry, Duke of Buckingham. Sir Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Mansel, of Scurlage, Oxwich and Penrice Castle, born 1375. In 1399 he was declared next of kin to Richard Scurlage, junr., of Llanrhidian, deceased, being then twenty-four years of age and upwards.[1] At his inquisition, dated September 5, 1435,[2] he is described as Richard Mansel, of Nicolaston, and is declared to have died on June 30 ("the day after the feast of St. Peter"), Philip, son and heir of John, son and heir of the said Richard, being his heir.[2] He married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Turberville, of Penlline, county Glamorgan, son of Tom, son of Hamon, and had issue:

I. JOHN MANSEL,[2] of Oxwich, who married Cecily, daughter and heir of Sir William Cantilupe, of Cantilupeston, or Cantleston, in Gower (by the daughter and heir of Sir Roger Umfraville, of Penmark, Glamorgan, whose wife was Isabel, daughter of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick). Cecily Cantilupe's first husband was William ap Llewelyn,[3] of the Plyghlyn, ap Howel Ychan ap Howel ap Einon Sais ap Rhys ap Howel ap Trehaiarn ap Gwgan ap Bleddyn ap Maenarch. John Mansel, who predeceased his father, left issue:

(*a*) PHILIP, who in 1435 succeeded his grandfather.[2]

II. WILLIAM MANSEL, of Mansellfield and Pitton, in Gower, who married Jane, daughter of Thomas ap Evan Gwyn ap Howel Melyn, of Priscedwyn,[3] and had issue:

(1) MORGAN,[2] living 1487 and 1494, who married Martha, daughter and heir of William Box, and had issue two daughters, Margaret and Alice. Margaret married Griffith Thomas of Landymore. Alice died unmarried.

(*a*) DAVID MANSEL,[4] Coronator of Gower,[2] living 1511, who married Catherine, daughter of Philip Cradock of Cheriton, and had issue, an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth.

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[1] P.R.P. Wallia, Misc. Bag. No. 28.

[2] Penrice MSS.

[3] R. G. Maunsell's "History of the Maunsell Family."

[4] Ancient Mansell Pedigree, dated 1603.

PHILIP MANSEL OF OXWICH.

[Face page 214.

(1) ELIZABETH[1] married Rees[1] ap Evan ap Ynys, of Maerddy, and left a son, Lleisan Price, who was father of William Price of Britton Ferry, who married Catherine, daughter and co-heir of David Hopkins Thomas (by Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Mansel, of Llandewie), and left a daughter and co-heir, who married, first, Arthur Mansel, of Britton Ferry, and secondly Sir Anthony Mansel.

RICHARD MANSEL of Scurlage Castle and Oxwich, etc., was succeeded by his grandson

PHILIP MANSEL of Oxwich and Penrice (born *circa* 1420), who was fifteen years of age and upwards at his grandfather's death. He married Mabilia, daughter of Sir Griffith ap Nicholas, of Newton, county Carmarthen, and co-heir to her mother, Jane, daughter and co-heir of Jenkin ap Rees ap David ap Howel Ychan ap Howel ap Rees ap Rhydderch ap Cadifor ap Dinawal, of Gilfachwen, county Cardigan.

Amongst the MSS. at Britton Ferry,[2] copied by the Rev. J. M. Trahorne, appears the following: "Ego Phillipus filius et haeres Nuper Johns Maunsellea Oxenwich, 10 die mens Maie, 1444." By a deed dated 1459-1460, to which Sir William Berkley, Knt., then Seneschal of Gower, and others, are witnesses, Philip Mansel entailed Gower estates on his sons John, Leonard, and Jenkin.[1] Philip and Mabilia had issue: John, Leonard, Jenkin, and Alice.

I. JOHN,[3] killed in battle during the Wars of the Roses.

II. LEONARD, killed in battle during the Wars of the Roses.

III. JENKIN, who succeeded his father, of whom more hereafter.

Philip Mansel married, secondly, about 1460, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Long, Knt., and by her had issue:

IV. RICHARD, for whom see Maunsells of Chicheley.

V. PHILIP, of whom nothing is known for certain.

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[1] Ancient Mansell Pedigree, dated 1603.

[2] R. G. Maunsell's "History of the Maunsell Family."

[3] Penrice MSS.

VI. ALICE, who married Sir Mathew Cradock, Knt., of Swansea, Seneschal of Gower, and had issue by him:

(*a*) MARGARET,[1] who married firstly Sir John Malifant, of St. George's Castle, and secondly, Sir Richard Herbert of Ewias, county Monmouth, and had issue, Sir William Herbert, created Earl of Pembroke, 1551, ancestor of the present Earl of Pembroke. Margaret married, thirdly, Sir William Bawdrip.

(Sir Mathew Cradock married secondly the beautiful Lady Catherine Gordon, widow of the Pretender to the English throne.)

Jenkin Mansel, on the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, obtained a repeal of the attainder against his father, and a restoration in blood and estates.

In 1486 he married Edith, daughter and co-heir of Sir G. Kene, Knt., of Well Hall, Eltham, county Kent, by Agnes, widow of John Tattershall and daughter of Thomas Chichele, Chamberlain of London, by Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Knolles, Lord Mayor of London.

JENKIN MANSEL had issue:

I. RHYS, of whom afterwards.

II. HUGH, married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Richard Wogan of Kent, and had issue:

(1) ROBERT,[2] groom of the Chamber to Henry VIII. and Marshal of the Hall to Queen Elizabeth. He married Alice, daughter of Philip Long of county Dorset, and had issue:

(1) JOHN, who married Edith, daughter of Breche of Newbury, Bucks, and had issue:

(*a*) RICHARD.

(*b*) WILLIAM.

(*c*) FOULK.

Richard[2] was of Rynsham, county Somerset, and one of the Yeoman of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth.

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[1] Penrice MSS.

[2] Visitation of Berks. Hone Society.

HERALDRY FROM TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
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I.—On a lozenge, quarterly 1 and 4 Argent, a pale fusilly (Sir Daniel); 2 and 3 Argent, a tiger statant, regardant gu. (Daniel). Dame Darrell's (maiden name)

II.—Quarterly, 1 Azure, [illegible] Argent (Darrell); [illegible] Sable, [illegible] coloured [illegible] (Clopton); Argent, [illegible] a [illegible] between [illegible] large [illegible] strings, [illegible] mullets [illegible] 4 Cheaper, Argent and Azure [illegible] Royden, Argent, [illegible] ing [illegible] the [illegible] husband's [illegible] Darrell.

III.—Quarterly, 1 and 4 Gules, a [illegible] Argent, a chevron between [illegible] Sable [illegible] Mansel [illegible] Argent [illegible] Mandeville [illegible] Argent [illegible] Argent [illegible] Argent

III. PHILIP MANSEL, of Llandewy, married Anne, daughter of William Daubridgecourt of Strathfieldsaye, Hants, and heir of Jeffrey Newton by Grace, daughter of Nicholson Bringer, and had issue:

(*a*) REES, married, and with other issue had a daughter, Dorothy, who married Thomas Franklen of Nicholeston Hall, as stated in survey dated 1632.

(*b*) HENRY, married Jane, daughter of John Hodges of Lofton, county Somerset.

(*c*) ELIZABETH.

(*d*) GRACE.

(2) WILLIAM, *d.s.p.*

(3) GEORGE, married Matilda, daughter of William Probert, *d.s.p.*

(4) ELIZABETH, married David Popkin Thomas of Gower.

(5) GRACE.

(6) MARY.

IV. ALICE, married David Drew, of Somerset (Bristol).

V. ANNE, married David ap Rees Gwynne, of Llancayach.

VI. JANE, married John Gevynne ap Jenkyn ap Richard of Llansanwar.

VII. ELIZABETH, married Christopher Fleming.

SIR RHYS MANSEL, Knt., of Oxwich, Beaupré, and Margam, eldest son of Jenkin Mansel, of Oxwich, was born January 25, 1487. He married, firstly, May 17, 1511,[1] Elinor, daughter and sole heir of James Basset,[1] of Beaupré, Glamorgan, by Katherine, daughter of Rimron Mathew,[1] of Llandaff, but by her had no issue. Secondly he married (1520) Anne, daughter of Sir Gyles Brydges of Coberly, county Gloucester, and sister of Sir John Brydges, afterwards created Lord Chandos, and by her had issue (with two sons who died young):—

I. PHILIP,[2] living 1536, who married Mary, widow of Sir Edward Darell, and had issue:

(*a*) RHYS,[2] living 1553,[2] *d.s.p.* before 1559.[3]

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[1] Penrice MSS.

[2] Sir Rice's Will. 1553 and 1559.

[3] Llantrithed Monuments.

Philip died in his father's lifetime.[1] His widow married, thirdly, Henry Fortescue,[2] of Falkbourne, county Essex, and died October 7, 1599. A handsome memorial brass has been erected in the family church at Falkbourne to her memory, in which the arms of Mansel is emblazed with that of her other husbands.

II. CATHERINE,[3] who married William Basset, junr., Sir Rhys giving her Beaupré as her dowry, which thus returned to the Basset family. She died March 10, 1593, and her husband in 1586, both being buried at Coombe Monkton (near Bath). A memorial tablet has been erected to their memory.

III. ELIZABETH, who married William Morgan,[3] of Llantarnam, county Monmouth.

NOTE.—The marriage bond of Rhys Mansel and Elinor Basset, dated May 17, 1511, was witnessed by John ap Thomas Gwilim Richard Howell, Richard Maunsell (this Richard Maunsell was presumably Richard, son of Jankin Mansel), John Haron, Richard Thomas, Hugh ap Hopkin, Thomas ap David ap Howell, and Nicholson ap Rice.

Sir Rhys married thirdly, June 17, 1527,[6] Cecil or Cecily, daughter of John Dabridgecourt (Daubridgecourt, Dawebridgecourt), of Wolston, county Warwick (second son of Thomas Daubridgecourt, of Strathfieldsaye, county Hants), by Catherine, daughter of Richard Myenours (Minors), of Trefjage, and of Wyndleshill, county Derby.

By his marriage with Cicely Daubridgecourt Sir Rhys had further issue, *viz.*:

IV. EDWARD,[3] who succeeded him.

V. ANTHONY,[3] of Llantrithed, county Glamorgan, born 1531,[2] M.P. for Glamorgan in 1553. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Basset of Llantrithed, by Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Norton, of Bristow, and had issue:

(*a*) EDWARD, *d.s.p.* 1573.[2]
(*b*) RHYS, *d.s.p.* 1583.[2]
(*c*) WILLIAM, *d.s.p.* 1573.[2]
(*d*) ELIZABETH, *d.s.p.* 1567.[2]

[1] Sir Rice's Will. 1553 and 1559.
[2] Llantrithed Monuments.
[3] Margam Monuments.
[4] R. G. Maunsell's "History of the Maunsell Family."
[6] Penrice MSS.

(*e*) ANNE, *d.s.p.* 1570.[1]

(*f*) MARY,[1] who married February 12, 1584, Sir Thomas Awbrey, Knt., of Llantrithed, and county Bucks, and was mother of Sir John Awbrey, Bart. She died 1635.

(*g*) CECILIA, daughter and co-heir, married April 16, 1607, Sir Rawleigh Bussie, Knt.[1] They were both buried at Margam, where a handsome memorial tablet has been erected to their memory.

VI. MARY, who married Sir Thomas Southwell,[2] Knt., of Uprising, county Norfolk, and had issue: Sir Robert Southwell, who married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, by Jane, daughter of Sir William Cokayne, Lord Mayor of London. Lord Howard of Effingham afterwards became Lord High Admiral of England.[2]

Sir Rhys Mansel died April 10, 1559, and was buried in the church of Little Bartholomew, near Smithfield, where also was buried Lady Cecilia.

A handsome monument has been erected to the memory of Sir Rhys and Lady Cecilia in the Mansel Chapel at Margam. His portrait, with that of Anne Brydges and their son, is in the gallery at Penrice Castle. By kind permission of Miss Charlotte Talbot, his lineal descendant, it has now for the first time been reproduced.

SIR EDWARD MANSEL, Knt., of Margam and Penrice, born 1531, received the honour of knighthood 1572; succeeded the Earl of Derby as Chamberlain of Chester. He married Lady Jane Somerset,[3] youngest daughter of Henry, second Earl of Worcester and ninth in descent from King Edward I., and by her had issue:

I. THOMAS,[4] who succeeded him, and became ancestor of the Lords Mansel of Margam, of whom afterwards.

II. RHYS,[5] captain of a troop of horse, and killed in action, 1596, at the battle of Carrickfergus, in the suppression of the rebellion of Tyrone.

III. ANTHONY, married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Henry Morgan of Muddlescombe, *d.s.p.*

IV. FRANCIS,[6] Bart., ancestor of the Mansels of Muddlescombe and of the Mansels of Trimsaran.

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[1] Llantrithed Monuments. [2] History of Neath Abbey. [3] Ancient Pedigree, 1720.
[4] Margam Monuments. [4] Ancient Pedigree, 1603. [6] *Ibid.*, 1603.

V. CHARLES,[1] captain of a troop of horse, served in Ireland during the rebellion of Tyrone.

VI. PHILIP, of Swansea, 1585, who married, firstly, Catherine, daughter and heir of William Mathew, of Radyr, and widow of Roland Lewis of Rhiperra, by whom he had issue:

(1) THOMAS, of Swansea, married a daughter of David Gwyn, of Llanbran, and had issue: Edward, Philip, Roderic, and Thomas.

(2) DOROTHY, or MARGARET, heiress to her mother, who married David, son of Thomas Vaughan, of Trimsaran, Carmarthen. He died 1673.

Philip Mansel married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Mansel, of Llandewie, and by her had further issue:

(*b*) THOMAS, of Swansea.
(*c*) MARY.

VII. CHRISTOPHER MANSEL,[2] of Perrywood, in Gower, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, of Bonch, county Lancaster, and had issue:

(*a*) JANE.
(*b*) HOPE.
(*c*) DOROTHY.
(*d*) ELIZABETH.
(*e*) CATHERINE, who married the Rev. Marmaduke Mathew, of Swansea.

VIII. HENRY,[1] living 1585, *d.s.p.*

IX. EDWARD.

X. ROBERT, SIR, Knt., of Norfolk;[3] entered the royal navy under the immediate patronage of his relative, the Lord High Admiral Lord Howard, of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham. He was captain of the *Mer Honour*, and was knighted by the Earl of Essex for conspicuous bravery at the battle of Cadiz, when the Spanish fleet was destroyed in that harbour by the intrepid attack of the English, A.D. 1596. The portrait of Sir Robert hangs in the house of his ancestor at Penrice Castle.

XI. WILLIAM,[1] *d.s.p.*

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[1] Ancient Pedigree, 1720.

[2] History of Neath Abbey.

[3] Ancient Pedigree, 1603.

XII. ELIZABETH,[1] who married Sir Walter Rice, of Newton, county Carmarthen, from whom are descended the Lords of Dynevor. See Burke's Peerage.

XIII. CECIL, or CICELY, who married Sir Rowland Williams,[1] of Llangibby Castle, county Monmouth, High Sheriff of Monmouth, and had, with other issue, Sir Charles, his successor, and Jane (married Sir Nicholas Kemeys, Bart.). Sir Charles's son, Trevor Williams, was created a baronet in 1642.

XIV. MARY,[1] who married Christopher Turberville, of Penlline.

XV. ANNE,[1] who married Edward Carne, of Little Nash.

SIR EDWARD MANSEL died August 5, 1595, aged *circa* 65; Lady Mansel died October 16, 1597, aged 67. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Mansel of Margam.

Sir Edward's grandson, THOMAS MANSEL, son of his sixth son, Philip Mansel, of Swansea, was living 1632, and married Jane, daughter of David Gwyn, of Glanbrane, and had issue:

I. EDWARD MANSEL,[2] of Henllys and Swansea, living 1658 and 1685. He married Anne, second daughter of Sir Theobald Gorges, M.P. for Cirencester, and had issue:

(*a*) EDWARD MANSEL,[3] of Henllys and Swansea, living 1693, who sold his estate to Thomas, first Lord Mansell, and died at Swansea June, 1723. He married Margaret, daughter of —— Ducke, by whom he had issue, a son:

MATHEW, born *circa* 1690.

II. THOMAS MANSEL,[3] of Penrice Castle (will in P.O., 1704), who married a daughter of —— Ray, of Tenby, and had issue:

(*a*) CHRISTOPHER.

(*b*) EDWARD, *d.s.p.*

(*c*) THOMAS.

(*d*) ROBERT, who had issue a son, Robert, and another son, Thomas, who was possibly the Thomas Mansel who, in 1715, was leased Penrice Farm, and was the father of Thomas, baptised at Penrice in 1715.[2]

(*e*) RACHEL.

(*f*) DOROTHY.

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[1] Ancient Pedigree, 1603.

[2] Penrice MSS.

[3] Will of Col. Edward Mansel.

THOMAS MANSEL was probably the grandfather of William Wogan Mansel, of Pembroke, who married Anne, daughter of Major Roger Lort, Royal Welsh Fusiliers (who was killed at Fontenoy in 1745), and had issue:

I. WILLIAM LORT MANSEL, born 1758, who died 1820, having married Isabell, daughter of John Haggerston, of Cambridge, by whom he had issue, with four other daughters:

(*a*) WILLIAM, died young.

(*b*) WILLIAM.

(*c*) SPENCER.

(*d*) ISABELLA, died July 31, 1866, aged 76, having married her cousin, the Rev. Lort Mansel.[1]

(*e*) SOPHIA MATILDA CAROLINE, who married, at Came, county Dorset, October 9, 1823, John Horsley Dakins.

(*f*) FANNY, who married the Rev. Thomas Tayler, of Whitlings, county Worcester.

II. THOMAS, who married, and had issue:

(*a*) THOMAS.

(*b*) THE REV. LORT MANSEL, Vicar of Maesterworth, who married his cousin, Isabella Mansel.

(*c*) ANNE.

(*d*) MARY.

III. RODERICK, who married in Ireland, and had issue a daughter, Jane.

IV. HANNAH, who married —— Williams.

V. ELIZABETH.

VI. KATHERINE.

VII. PHILIP.

VIII. RICHARD.

IX. JOAN.

Thomas Mansel, of Swansea, also had a granddaughter, Dorothy, who married —— Tanner, and had issue two daughters, Elinor and Elizabeth.

[1] Monuments at St. Ishmaels.

CHAPTER IX

The Wars of the Roses

HAVING thus traced, as accurately as is possible under the circumstances, the advent of the Mansels into Wales, and the firm establishment of the family therein, it now remains to treat of their deeds and vicissitudes during succeeding generations, dating from the marriage of Richard Mansel with Lucy, daughter of Philip Scurlage,[1] in the fourteenth century; and in the present chapter it is proposed to deal with their connection, and that of other families with whom they were directly or distantly allied, with the Wars of the Roses.

During the remainder of the fourteenth century, and later, there is but little known concerning them; they do not appear as taking a prominent part in public affairs, nor are there any stirring family incidents recorded.

The fifteenth century was, however, a period of increasing turbulence in Wales, involving eventually the principal families in deadly strife upon one side or the other, with tragic results in some instances, in which some of the Mansels were destined to bear a conspicuous part.

The rebellion of Owen Glendower (or Glyndwr) in the firs decade of the century was the beginning of trouble, affecting, as we have seen, the fortunes of Margam Abbey. Ruthless devastation and the ruin of religious houses, marked the track of this fierce and

[1] There is an interesting note in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, concerning the origin of the name of Sherlock, which is the English equivalent of Scurlage: "In a Wexford inquisition of 1296, the name appears as Scurlag, which seems a corruption of Skorri-lag, *i.e.*, Scandinavian for Skorri of the Sword Stroke. Sherlockstown in Kildare perpetuates the English modification of the words."

unscrupulous chieftain in every direction, and the after-effects of the rising were not less disastrous than its inception and execution.

Upon the accession of Henry V., in 1413, it was still considered necessary to maintain in Wales a considerable force of arms in the most disaffected districts; and this fact was sufficient in itself to arouse in the minds of patriotic Welshmen a deep resentment against what they held to be a mark of continued subjection. Owen Glendower was apparently still at large, and there was always the possibility of renewed hostilities.

The king, intent upon foreign conquest, and anxious to obtain some security against trouble in Wales during his French campaign, repeatedly offered pardon to Owen or his representative, sending Gilbert Talbot, a few weeks before his embarkation for France, with authority to pardon such rebels who would submit. Owen himself was not to be found, but Talbot had authority in the following year to treat with his son, Meredith. Furthermore, Henry directed that some of the monasteries should be rebuilt.

Another effect of the rising was to produce bitter animosity among Welsh families, many of whom had been strongly opposed to Owen's rising; and there is abundant evidence of the persecutions to which these royalists were subjected at the hands of Owen's followers. Many escaped by enlisting for the war in France, while some appealed to the ancient Welsh institution of *rhaith*, under which three hundred witnesses were required to swear to the innocence of the accused.

These evils were further aggravated by the introduction of a drastic code of penal laws, increasing in severity towards the middle of the century, by which Welshmen were debarred from acquiring property within or near the boroughs, from serving upon juries, from marriage with the English, and from holding office under the Crown; while no Englishman could be convicted upon the oath of a Welshman.

To these disabilities, however, some exceptions were made in the case of Welshmen of influence, upon the ground of distinguished service in the French wars, or for reasons of policy in conciliating some persons who might otherwise give too much trouble, and so forth.

Among those to whom full liberties were thus restored appear

PENRICE CASTLE, FROM MODERN HOUSE, 1914.

Above page 254.

the names of Griffith Dwnn and Griffith ap Nicholas, each of whose family was subsequently connected by marriage with the Mansels.

Griffith ap Nicholas was a man of strong personality and aggressive disposition, intensely patriotic, and in common with all the Welsh aristocracy of his time a very generous patron of the bards, who in return lustily sang his praises in their poetic effusions, exalting him to the position of autocrat of the south and ruler of the west, from Carmarthen to Anglesey. He lived at Newton (now Dynevor), near Llandilo, in Carmarthenshire.

He was approver[1] for the king in Dynevor in 1425, though his release from the disabilities of the penal code is not officially recorded until twenty years later. He was farmer of the lordship of Dynevor in 1440.

There is a curious instance of the use of his name in order to entrap a lady on her travels. Margaret, widow of Sir Thomas Maliphant, summoned to London by her mother on account of her husband's death, was to be escorted by one Lewis Leyson, who had been her husband's friend. Leyson, however, misrepresented the whole matter, having opened her mother's letter, and telling her that she was in peril from Griffith ap Nicholas, conducted her by a circuitous route to the house of his accomplice, Gilbert Turbeville, of Twygeston, near Bridgend, having engineered on the road an ambush of armed men, whom he said were servants of Griffith ap Nicholas. There, by dint of imprisonment, deprivation and threats, Leyson forced her to go through the ceremony of matrimony with him, the vicar being apparently an accomplice. After being very grossly and brutally ill-used, Margaret eventually escaped and found her way to her mother in London. Her petition against Lewis Leyson is fully set forth in the Parliamentary Rolls[2] and the said Lewis was duly summoned to account for his misdeeds.

This disgraceful business involves, as stated, one Gilbert Turbeville; and it appears to be almost certain that he was identical

[1] Approver, more properly spelt [illegible] an agent or bailiff. The king's approver was usually the chief collector of the royal revenue in his county. In the Marches of Wales approvers were such [illegible] [illegible]

[2] Rolls of Parliament. Vol. v., pp. 14 et seq.

with that Gilbert whose daughter married Sir Richard Mansel. Sir Robert Fitzhamon, the conqueror of Glamorgan, it will be recollected, in rewarding his twelve knights for their services, bestowed upon Sir Payne, or Pagan, Turbeville the manor of Coytdy, or Coyty, which is near Bridgend; and although Gilbert Turbeville, whose daughter married Sir Richard Mansel, is described as "of Penline," he should more properly be styled as of Twygeston (or Tythegston). He was son of Tompkin Turbeville, through whose marriage with Lucy, daughter of Sir John Norris of Penline (or Penllyne) castle, this estate came to the family: but Gilbert is not alluded to as holder of it. Mr. G. T. Clark, in his "Genealogies of Glamorgan," states that Elizabeth, wife to Sir Richard Mansel, was daughter of Hamon Turbeville; but he admits that there is here an apparent anachronism. Hamon was grandfather to Gilbert, and the Penllyne estate had certainly not come into the family during his time.

It is to be feared, therefore, that Sir Richard Mansel's father-in-law was none other than this Gilbert who lent his house for an abominable outrage upon a lady; there is not any other Gilbert who fits in chronologically.

Griffith ap Nicholas continued to flourish, and became a person of increasing importance. In 1443, by a royal grant, he was invested with the town of Tregaron, and the Commote [1] of Pennarth in which it was situated, during the minority of Maud, daughter and heir of William Clement. In 1444 he was formally admitted to the full privileges of an English subject, which he had practically enjoyed for nearly twenty years.[2]

The penal code was by this time being permitted more or less to lapse into desuetude, though it was by no means formally abrogated, and the number of Welshmen who, like Griffith ap Nicholas, were officially released from its operation were comparatively few. The lords of the Marches, however, found it to their advantage to

[1] Commote: a territorial administrative division in Wales; sometimes used as though synonymous with a lordship or manor. The cantred was a larger territory than the commote.

[2] For the pedigree of Griffith ap Nicholas, see Appendix. It is summarised from the pedigree by Ralph Brooke, before alluded to.

relax the strictures, and to wink at breaches of the ordinance, their tolerance tending to increase the number of law-abiding burgesses, and thus enhance the security of the towns, besides increasing their revenues.

Side by side with this slackening of the fetters of the penal code, however, there was developing widespread lawlessness, which culminated in a condition of anarchy, and induced a sudden tightening of the rein. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who had acquired early in the century an interest in Wales, endeavoured, in the climax of unrest which prevailed from 1441 to 1443, to turn it to his own advantage. It is unnecessary to enter here upon the circumstances under which he came under royal and parliamentary censure: in the year 1447, on his arrival, with a large retinue, at Bury St. Edmunds, to attend the Parliament which was to be held there, he and some of his more prominent attendants were arrested; and among these were Sir Henry Wogan, Thomas Herbert, elder brother of William Herbert (afterwards Earl of Pembroke), and John Wogan. The Wogans, as shown in the pedigree, were afterwards connected by marriage with the Mansels.

Humphrey was accused, among other charges, of endeavouring to raise a rebellion in Wales, though there was no direct evidence to support the charge. A few years previously Griffith ap Nicholas, a devoted adherent of Gloucester, had been summoned before the council as being implicated, with his family, in riots.

Riots, indeed, were common enough; and such was the state of apprehension aroused with regard to Wales, that all the statutes against Welshmen were confirmed afresh, and it was declared that "all grants of franchises, markets, fairs and other freedoms to buy or sell, or bake or brew to sell in the towns of North Wales, made to any Welshman before this time, be void and of no value; and that all bondmen of the King be compelled to such services and labours as they were accustomed to; and that the officers have power to compel them to do such labours and services."

Such an edict naturally did not tend to peace, and the condition of the country displayed no improvement—seizures and distresses under trumped-up pleas, riotous assemblies, "maims

and murders," were rampant; and in 1449 the Duke of Buckingham, who possessed a large territorial influence in Wales, was despatched to deal with the matter, while the king, Henry VI., hung about the Marches in readiness to lend support; and on top of all this turmoil the Wars of the Roses were already brewing, in which so many Welshmen were destined to play a prominent part.

It is not expedient here to enter at any length upon the political aspect of the Wars of the Roses; the subject is treated at length in many volumes of general and particular history. We are now concerned more especially with the actual incidents of the wars, and the manner in which they affected the Mansels and their kinsmen.

The campaign in France was at this time manifestly going against the English; the long war, except for a short period after the battle of Agincourt, had never been popular in England, and yet the general feeling was strongly against the conclusion of peace, which could only be achieved upon more or less unfavourable terms. But while the nation viewed it as a point of honour to prosecute the war there was an illogical reluctance to provide the necessary funds; and this is obviously not the spirit in which a war can be conducted to a successful issue.

In the year 1448 King Henry issued a mandate for the payment of money for the wages of one thousand archers, going to France to serve under the Marquess of Dorset, the king's lieutenant in France. The sum of £2,275, for one quarter, is noted on an endorsement as having been received through the hand of Thomas Maunsell.

In the year 1449 this same Thomas Maunsell was appointed receiver, conjointly with the Abbot of Gloucester[1] and John Chirche, citizen of London, of the jewels and sums of money to be delivered to them by the king's treasurer—this patent is dated August 18, 1449: by another, of December 21 in the same year, Thomas Maunsell alone receives a similar appointment (the name in each instance being thus spelt). The two patents run as follows:

[1] Reginald Boulers, or Butler, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and subsequently of Lichfield.

"Aug. 18. Westminster. Commission to the Abbot of Gloucester, Thomas Maunsell, Esquire, and John Chirche, citizen of London, to receive from the treasurer of England and others the jewels and sums of money to be delivered to them, by indentures to be made between them and the treasurer and others, and to pledge the same to all persons who will lend money to them for the King's necessity and to agree with such persons for indentures testifying what jewels are pledged and their weight and the sums received on them, by which indentures and these presents, to be shown before the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, the King will cause them to have due discharge from time to time at the Exchequer; appointment also of Thomas to deliver all such sums to all who are retained to go to Normandy and to all possessors, masters, and mariners of ships and other vessels, wherein they are retained for transport; and grant that the said commissioners, their heirs, executors or terre-tenants, be not held to render any account."

The second patent is couched in almost precisely similar terms, Thomas Maunsell being named as sole commissioner; he is, however, to receive such money and jewels "before Christmas next"—*i.e.*, only four days from the date of the patent.

This is obviously a very weighty and responsible business; and it is significant that while, in the first instance, Maunsell was associated with the Abbot of Gloucester and John Chirche,[1] in the second he is deputed to act alone; he must have been a man of well-known integrity and good position, and it would be very interesting to trace his immediate relationship to other members of the family.

This, however, does not appear to be very easy of accomplishment; there is no Thomas in any of the pedigrees who fits in here. There is mention in the Patent Rolls, May 1, 1434, of one Thomas

[1] There was apparently more than one John Chirche concerned in the rebellion under Jack Cade (*alias* Mortimer) in the following year, their names appearing in a very long list of persons included in a "General pardon to John Mortymer, at the request of the queen. . . . the like to the following——" including the Chirches, or Chirche family. Cade, however, was killed before the pardon reached him. One John Chirches, "late citizen and mercer of London," received pardon, June 1, 1451, [illegible] appearing to answer concerning a debt of £12 due to the collectors of customs at Southampton; he appears to have been frequently in need of such indulgence.

Mauncell (*sic*) of Burford in Yorkshire, whose name appears as one of those who are to be summoned by the sheriff to take the oath, imposed by recent act of Parliament, "not to maintain peace-breakers referred to in the said Act." (The Act is given in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv., p. 422.) It is not, of course, quite clear that this Thomas is identical with the other of fifteen years later, but it appears most probable that he is. Burford is probably synonymous with Brudford or Bridford in Yorkshire: the name is spelt in several different ways.

In Devon's Issues of the Exchequer (1837), under date December 11, 28 Henry VI. (1450), is recorded the issue to "Thomas Maunsell, servant to the Duke of Somerset, the King's Lieutenant-General in his kingdom of France and Duchy of Burgundy," of certain sums of money, "to pay the wages of divers men at arms and archers proceeding to Normandy for the defence of those parts,"[1] etc.

Thomas Maunsell is also alluded to in Papal Letters, together with Theobalda his wife. This Theobalda was daughter to Humphrey Evyas (or Eveas) of Kent, and had from him the manor of Esthall in that county for the term of her life.[2] In the Papal Indult, granting permission to Thomas and his wife to have movable altars, and other privileges, he is alluded to as "nobleman, lord of divers places and a castle."[3]

During the first few years of the Wars of the Roses we do not hear of Thomas as taking any active part upon either side; having held a post of trust and importance under the Lancastrian king, we should perhaps expect to find him in the ranks of Henry's army.

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[1] Among those named from whom Maunsell received various sums appear: "Wm. Porte, and the other executors of Henry, late Cardinal of England." This was Henry Beaufort, the tardily legitimised son of John of Gaunt, and uncle to the Duke of Somerset. According to John Blakman (De Virtutibus Henry VI.), the king declined the offer of the cardinal's executors; but it is here stated in black and white that he accepted 5,000 marks from them. Cardinal Beaufort, in his youth, was married or was "lover" to Lady Alice Fitzalan, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel, by whom he had a daughter Jane, or Joan, who married Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's castle in Wales.

[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, 13 Ed. IV., 391. Hasted's History of Kent. Vol. ii., p. 609.

[3] Papal Letters, Vol. x., pp. 303, 384, 385.

He appears, however, after the battle at Mortimer's Cross, to have cast in his lot with the Yorkists; probably he was already enlisted on that side, though there is no mention of his name.

On March 13, 1461, he is named "king's servant," Edward IV. having been proclaimed at Westminster eight days previously, and is granted for life the office of receiver of certain lordships in the counties of Wilts, Southampton, and Dorset;[1] and on September 5 of the same year he is commissioned, together with John Castell, to provide mariners for a ship named the *Trinity of Minehead*, "for a fleet which the King is preparing against his adversaries and rebels."[1]

In the following year he is appointed receiver and approver of the king's castles, lordships, manors, etc., in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall (February 26); on March 10 following, this appointment is renewed respecting Somerset and Dorset, "in the King's hands by reason of an act of resumption in the late Parliament at Westminster." On July 7, 1463, we find him appointed controller of the subsidies in the port of London and ports and places adjacent.[1]

On May 18, 1463, there appears the following: "Pardon to Thomas Mauncell of London, 'gentilman,' *alias* late of Bristol, Esquire, late Escheator in the counties of Somerset and Dorset, of all offences committed by him and all fines, forfeitures, and accounts due to the King." On December 13, 1464, he is again twice alluded to as "late Escheator" in the county of Somerset; a similar allusion occurs in 1469.[1]

Finally, April 12, 1473, Theobalda is alluded to as "late the wife of Thomas Mauncell"; so Thomas must have died in the interim. Of his issue or derivation there is no evidence forthcoming. There is no inquisition after his death in the Calendar; he remains isolated, so far, but evidently a man of considerable importance in his day. Some further light may perhaps be thrown upon him in connection with Maunsells in Yorkshire; or, as he is on one occasion styled "late of Bristol," Somerset may claim him.

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls.

It was in the year 1455, after King Henry's recovery from the first of those mysterious mental attacks from which he suffered, that the first engagement in the Wars of the Roses occurred.

Richard, Duke of York, who had acted as Protector during the king's illness, alarmed and incensed by the changes which Henry immediately proceeded to effect in the government, collected a force of some 3,000 men, the Earl of Salisbury and his son the Earl of Warwick—afterwards known as the "king-maker"—being with him. They met the king's forces, numbering somewhat over 2,000, at St. Albans, and defeated them utterly.

After a more or less peaceful interval of four years, the two great houses once more came to blows at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, where the Yorkists, though they were greatly outnumbered, again came off victorious. Royal reinforcements were at hand, however, and Salisbury retired quietly at dark towards Ludlow, deceiving his opponents by a somewhat amusing ruse: he left his guns behind him, and an Austin friar, whether at Salisbury's command or on his own initiative, kept firing them off all night, so as to convey the impression that the Yorkists still occupied the ground. "And on the morrow," says Gregory in his Chronicle, "they found neither man nor child in that park save that friar only, and he said it was for fear he abode in that park all that night." One would be disposed, however, to credit the good friar with a strong sense of humour rather than with any timidity!

York's success was only temporary; he was confronted at Ludlow by a vastly superior force of the king's adherents, and in the night the Yorkists withdrew, the leaders fleeing the country. The Duke of York, Salisbury, and Warwick and others were attainted, while Henry, with characteristic clemency, pardoned those who had fought under them.

The battle of Northampton was the next incident of importance; this was fought on July 10, 1460, and resulted in a complete victory for the Yorkists, under the Earl of Warwick, owing chiefly to treachery on the part of Lord Grey of Ruthin. The king was made prisoner, and conducted, with all respect, to London.

The tables were turned, however, at Wakefield, at the end of

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this same year, where the Duke of York was killed, and the Earl of Salisbury was beheaded on the following morning (December 31); seven weeks later, on February 17, 1461, Queen Margaret defeated the Earl of Warwick at the second battle of St. Albans, putting him to flight with a remnant of his army.

Meanwhile, for some four or five years, Edmund and Jasper Tudor, sons of Owen Tudor, and half-brothers to the king, had been rounding up the Lancastrian forces in Wales. Edmund did not live long after he came to Wales in 1456; he died at Pembroke in November, 1456, and two months later his wife, Margaret Beaufort, gave birth to a son, Henry Tudor, afterwards King Henry VII. Jasper immediately took his brother's place, and proceeded to consolidate the adherence of the Welsh chieftains and people to the Lancastrian cause. Griffith ap Nicholas, who had been on bad terms for some time with Edmund Tudor, and was regarded as a possible Yorkist, was finally won over by Jasper Tudor, he and his family becoming enthusiastic Lancastrians; indeed, the king's two half-brothers found the Welsh people very kindly disposed to the sons of Owen Tudor, claiming them as countrymen; and Griffith's generous patronage of the bards was a valuable asset in the cause, for they traversed the country loudly advocating adherence to the Tudors as representing their nationality.

After the death of the Duke of York at Wakefield, his son, Edward, Earl of March, set about gathering an army in the Marches and the border counties; he was then but nineteen years of age, but was now the chief of the Yorkist faction. He had soon collected a large force, among his chief advisers and lieutenants being Sir William Herbert, Sir Walter Devereux, and Sir Roger Vaughan; also John Dwnn, of Kidwelly, one of the most prominent Yorkists in Wales.

Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, commanded rather a motley crew, composed of Welsh, Irish, French, and Bretons; and with him were old Owen Tudor, his father, Sir John Skydmore (or Skydmar, as in some State records), Owen and Thomas, sons of Griffith ap Nicholas, Philip Mansel of Oxwich, and others.

This Philip was grandson to Sir Richard Mansel, who married

the daughter of Gilbert Turbeville; he was born about the year 1420, and about 1444 he married Mabel, daughter of Griffith ap Nicholas, having succeeded to his grandfather's estates in 1435.

These estates are enumerated in the inquisition after Sir Richard's death, dated September 5, 1435; it was found that "the said Richard held the manor of Niclaston (or Nicholaston) as of fee by knight's service, making his suit at the county court of Sweynsee (or Swansea) from month to month; the advowson of the parish church of St. Nicholas of Niclaston; a parcel of land called Mancelsland; another parcel of land called Scorlacescastell; of the lord of Porteynon eight tenures with the water mill of Burry in demesne as of fee by knight's service and suit at the court of Porteynon; all of which premises are held at a rating of half a knight's fee and are worth, beyond reprisals, sixteen pounds. It was found that he died on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula—1 August—and that Philip Mauncel, son of John Mauncel, son and heir of the said Richard, of the age of fifteen years and upwards, is nearest of kin."

Thus far Philip's inheritance; there is not, however, much known about him, save in the capacity of an enthusiastic and active adherent of the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses.

Whether or not Philip had been present at any previous battle there does not appear to be evidence to show; but there is no doubt that he was with Jasper Tudor's army as it moved up the valley of the Towy, passed through Radnorshire, and followed the valley of the Lugg towards Leominster.

Meanwhile Edward, Earl of March—afterwards King Edward IV.—hearing of the advance of the Lancastrians in his rear, turned to meet them, and the two forces came face to face at Mortimer's Cross on the Lugg, about six miles north-west of Leominster, on February 2, 1461.

It is said by some of the old chroniclers that on this morning, about ten o'clock, a "strange portent" was observed; "there were seen three suns in the firmament shining full clear, whereof the people had great marvel, and thereof were aghast."[1] Another

[1] English Chronicle, p. 110.

report says that there was also a shower of rain of the colour of blood. "The noble Earl Edward," however, "them comforted and said, 'Be of good cheer and dread not; this is a good sign.'"

These alleged "portents" are, of course, frequently introduced in old chronicles; how far they are based upon fact it is impossible to say; there may have been, on this or other occasions, some atmospheric conditions which caused an illusion, exaggerated and exploited by the narrators for the embellishment of their stories. We are not told whether Jasper Tudor and his men observed this phenomenon, or drew comfort from it; if they did hail it as a favourable augury the forecast was as illusive as the multiple suns.

The battle of Mortimer's Cross resulted in a decisive victory for the Yorkists, who considerably outnumbered their opponents; many Lancastrians were slain in battle, and others were captured and put to death. Jasper Tudor and some others made their escape in disguise, but Owen Tudor was not so fortunate; he was taken to Hereford, and there suffered death.

"And he was beheaded in the market-place, and his head set upon the highest grise of the market cross; and a mad woman combed his hair and washed the blood off his face. And she got candles and set about him burning, more than a hundred. This Owen Tudor was father to the Earl of Pembroke, and had wedded Queen Catherine, King Henry VI.'s mother, weening and trusting all the time that he should not be beheaded, till he saw the axe and the block; and when he was in his doublet he trusted on pardon and grace till the collar of his red velvet doublet was ripped off. Then he said: That head shall lie on the stock that was wont to lie on Queen Catherine's lap; and put his heart and mind wholly unto God, and full meekly took his death." [1]

Thus perished this brave and chivalrous Welshman, the progenitor of English sovereigns. Whether his death was merited, or was necessary for the Yorkist cause, may be matter of opinion; there can be no question but that he was a fine specimen of that type of bold and adventurous Welshmen who distinguished themselves in many a conflict abroad, fighting against England's enemies.

[1] Gregory Chronicle, p. 211.

Other Lancastrians, no doubt, shared Owen Tudor's fate after Mortimer's Cross; but it is equally certain that some names have been wrongly included in the list of victims supplied by the chroniclers. William of Worcester numbers "Philip Mansell, Armiger" among the prisoners who were beheaded, but this is obviously incorrect. The battle, as we have seen, took place in February, 1461: and in April of that year Philip Mansel signed and sealed a document, which is among the Penrice MSS. It is not, therefore, probable that he was taken prisoner; we do not hear of him again until 1464, when he was attainted, and his lands forfeited by Act of Parliament.[1]

This attainder, it will be noticed, does not immediately follow the battle of Mortimer's Cross, nor is Philip therein accused of being present at that battle; it is obvious that he was at large subsequently, probably aiding Jasper Tudor in a fresh plot, by which there were to be simultaneous risings in Wales and in the North.

These plans, however, came to nought; a force under John Dwnn, who was now sheriff of the two West Wales counties and captain of Carmarthen and Aberystwyth, together with Sir Roger Vaughan, attacked the Lancastrians at Dryslwn, in the valley of the Towy, between Carmarthen and Llandilo, before their army was fully organised, and utterly defeated them.[2]

The act of attainder against Philip Mansel runs as follows: "Philip Mauncell, late of Oxenwiche in Gowers Land in South Wales, Esquire, Hopkyn ap Rys, late of the Parish of Llanganalough in Gower Land aforesaid Gentleman, and Lewys ap Rethergh ap Rees, late of Estradesterre in the county of Carmarthen in Wales, monk, have against their faith and allegiance, the 4th day of March, the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign had, and divers times since, at a place called Dryffryn in Carmarthenshire in South Wales, stirred, laboured, and provoked Margaret late called Queen of

[1] Rolls of Parliament. Vol. v., p. 512.

[2] "Wales and the Wars of the Roses," by Howell T. Evans; p. 151. This excellent little book has also supplied many of the details here recorded. The author gives copious references for his statements, and is entirely dependable.

ONWICH CASTLE, FACING E.

England, Edward her son late called Prince of Wales, and Jasper late Earl of Pembroke, rebels and enemies unto our said Sovereign Lord, to enter into his Realm of England, with great battle to rear War against his estate within this said Realm, to conquer the same from the possession and obeyance of our said Sovereign Lord, and to depose him of his Royal Estate, Crown and Dignity, and to destroy his most noble person and subjects. The King our Sovereign Lord . . . ordaineth that the said . . . Philip Mauncell . . . for their traitorous offences afore declared and specified, stand and be convicted and attainted of high Treason, and forfeit unto our said Sovereign Lord all Manors, Lands . . . Possessions . . . that they or any of them . . . had the first day of May in the said first year or since, in England or Wales, or Marches thereof." [1]

Then follows a list of a number of those mentioned in the Act, citing them to appear in person before the king; but Philip Mansel is not included among these, nor do the names of his associates, Hopkyn ap Rys, or Lewis the Monk, appear therein.

As has already been pointed out, the allegation that Philip was taken prisoner and beheaded at Mortimer's Cross is incorrect, since he executed a deed subsequently, at Oxwich Castle. It has further been stated that he fought at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471, was there taken prisoner by Sir John Conyers, and was afterwards beheaded; but it does not appear upon what authority this statement rests.[2]

It is obvious from the wording of this Act of Attainder that Philip was attainted for his part in the plot which culminated in the battle at Drysiwn (or Dryfiryn: Mr. Evans states that the two are synonymous), and not for fighting at Mortimer's Cross, whence he evidently escaped. His name does not subsequently appear in State records.

Now, the question naturally arises, why, out of the long roll of persons attainted in this Act, only a comparatively small number are called upon to appear and answer for themselves before the

[1] The [illegible] been here modernised.

[2] "History of [illegible]," by R. G. Mansell; p. 19.

king? The terms of indictment are similar in all cases, and it appears most improbable that exceptions would be made.

Two alternative explanations present themselves: either the others were already prisoners, and therefore in no need of such summons, or they had been beheaded or killed in action, and were consequently beyond its reach.

On March 23, 1465, the following record appears in the Patent Rolls:

"Grant to Roger Vaughan, King's knight, and the heirs male of his body of the manors of Oxenwiche, Scurlacastell, Nicholaston, Reynoldeston and Mauncellysfeld (Mansel's Field) in the lordship of Gower in the parts of Wales, eighteen messuages, three water-mills, a fulling-mill, 200 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow and 200 acres of pasture in the parish of Llanrydian in the same lordship, 40s. of rent in Kydwelly in Wales and all other lands, reversions, rents and possessions in Wales with all franchises, liberties, courts, views of frank-pledge, hundreds, knight's fees and advowsons late of Philip Mauncell, Esquire, and in the King's hands by his forfeiture and by virtue of an act in Parliament at Westminster, April 29, 3 Edward IV.; and forty messuages . . . and all other lands . . . and possessions in Wales late of Hopkyn ap Rees ap Hopkyn in the King's hands by his forfeiture and the act aforesaid, with all issues from March 4, 1 Edward IV."

Sir Roger Vaughan, as we have seen, was concerned in the defeat of the Lancastrians at Dryffryn, and it is quite in accordance with precedent that he should receive as his reward the lands of the vanquished, and more especially those of some person of more or less importance, whom he had captured with his own hands. Philip Mansel and Hopkyn ap Rees were very active and locally influential Lancastrians, as the extent of their holdings testifies.

It appears very improbable that Philip, after this rout at Dryffryn and his consequent attainder, would have been at large for six or seven years, and have taken part in the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471; there is the significant fact, also, of the omission of his name from the list of those summoned in the Act of Attainder.

It appears more probable, therefore, that Philip was taken

prisoner—perhaps by Sir Roger Vaughan—at Dryffryn, or subsequently, and beheaded; nothing is heard of him afterwards that can be vouched for.

Mr. J. D. Davies, in his "History of West Gower," suggests that Philip was arrested at Oxwich Castle some time in 1461, by Sir Roger Vaughan, and executed; there is something to be said for the hypothesis, but it appears to be challenged by the terms of the Act of Attainder, which allude to his having offended "divers times since" the battle at Dryffryn.

There is a deed of Philip Mansel, dated 22 Henry VI. (1444), in which he settles all his estates in the demesnes of Gower and Kidwelly on John Mansel, his son and heir, Sir Wm. Cressy, Vicar of Llangenyth, Roger Strangwich, and Henry Crumpe.[1]

As Philip cannot then have been married very long, this deed was probably executed soon after the birth of his son John, as a security against possible contingencies through the disturbed condition of Wales at that time.

In 1459, when the Wars of the Roses were in full swing, Philip Mansel conveyed his estates to his three sons, John, Leonard, and Jenkin; then to the said John and his direct heirs, and so to Leonard and Jenkin in turn, with remainder to "the right heirs of the said Philip."[2] This is more obviously a precautionary measure than the other, as Philip must have been well aware that perilous days were in store for him.

The deed, already alluded to, of April 3, 1461, executed shortly after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, is witnessed by John Mauncell. This John's identity is not clear; Philip's son John could not have been of age in 1461, and there is no other John to hand in any of the genealogies. There was a dispute in 1472 between one John Mauncel, of Leisonston, and Hugh Owen, concerning land and wood at

[1] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan," by G. T. Clark. Vol. iv., p. 1599. Mr. Clark says in a footnote: "This deed was probably intended to save Philip Mansel's estates from confiscation by assigning them to John, otherwise Jenkin, his son and heir"; but it is evident, from a subsequent charter alluded to above, that he had three sons—John, Leonard, and Jenkin.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. v., p. 1641.

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Leisonston; this may be the same John who witnessed the deed above mentioned.[1]

Philip Mansel thus disappears from this history; he may have lived later, but there is nothing whatever to prove that he did.

Meanwhile, the Yorkist victory at Mortimer's Cross was consolidated by another at Towton, with the result that Edward, Earl of March, became King Edward IV. of England.

In the subsequent events of the Wars of the Roses there is no evidence that any of the Mansels played a part; the bitter rivalry between William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Warwick, culminating in the Lancastrian victory at Banbury, the unexpected and short-lived reinstatement of Henry by Warwick—who thereby earned his *sobriquet* of "king-maker"—the battles at Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471, resulting in the final triumph, for that period at least, of the Yorkist cause, are matters of history

It is stated that Philip Mansel's two elder sons, John and Leonard, were killed in battle; presumably at Barnet or Tewkesbury. Lieutenant Evan Mansel-Pleydell, in his pedigree, gives the Penrice MSS. as authority for the statement; Mr. R. G. Maunsell, as usual, refrains from giving any reference. There is no corroboration of the statement in Mr. Clark's "Cartæ et Munimenta," and as Dr. Birch's collation of the Penrice and Margam MSS. is not efficiently indexed, it is not possible to trace the alleged evidence. That John and Leonard Mansel died before their younger brother, Jenkin, is sufficiently clear from the fact that Philip's estates were eventually restored to the latter: very probably they were, as stated, slain in fighting for the cause in which their father had already given his life.

Thomas Maunsell, it will be observed, was on the opposite side to Philip; it was in connection with the reduction of Pembroke Castle that he and John Castle were to provide a crew for the *Trinity* at Minehead, on the Somerset coast of the Bristol Channel. According to the contemporary Paston Letters, the *Trinity* was one of a fleet or squadron: "Th'erll of March is into Wales by land and

[1] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan." Vol. v., p. 1699.

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hath sent his navy thider by sea"[1] (the Lancastrian writer refused at that stage to acknowledge Edward as king); but what was the number of ships, and what part they actually played is obscure. Pembroke Castle was surrendered by Sir John Skydmore a month later, without resistance. The castle was, by Sir John's own account, victualled and prepared for a stubborn resistance; but he had a keen eye to the saving of his own person and his estates. His cheap capitulation did not, however, avail him much; for though a bill of attainder against him failed to pass, his estates were forfeited, and were bestowed upon Richard Herbert in the following year; they were restored, and the stigma of attainder removed from his name, upon his petition, ten years later.[2]

Sir John Skydmore was of Hereford, and married Maud, daughter of Griffith ap Nicholas, whose other daughter, Mabel, married Philip Mansel. The name is variously spelt, in State records, Skidmore, Skydmore, Skudamore, Scudamore; this last is the form adopted in the index to Rolls of Parliament, and apparently survived as the final form of the surname, as we find Charles Fitz-Roy Scudamore, of Holme Lacey, Herefordshire, in 1771. His daughter Frances married Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, in that year; the lady unhappily became insane, but survived the duke by five years.

[1] Paston Letters. Vol. ii., p. 46.

[2] Rolls of Parliament. Vol. v., p. 483; Vol. vi., pp. 29 and 84. Cal. Patent Rolls, Feb. 20, 1462.

CHAPTER X

Jenkin Mansel and Sir Rhys ap Thomas

AFTER the Battle of Tewkesbury there were very turbulent times in Wales, which gave King Edward and his ministers plenty to do; we are not, however, particularly concerned with these matters, in which the Mansels are not recorded as having taken any active part.

Philip Mansel and his two eldest sons were dead, and Jenkin, heir to his father's estates, which were in possession of Sir Roger Vaughan, was no doubt keeping quiet under the ban of Philip's attainder, and hoping for better times; not by any means a vain hope, for the seeds of future strife were obviously in process of germination, and the wheel of Fortune might once more revolve in favour of the Lancastrians.

Jenkin had to wait, however, until 1485, when, at the Battle of Bosworth Field, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, defeated King Richard III., and assumed the crown as Henry VII., placing the monarchy once more upon a stable basis; and this was in reality the final conflict in the Wars of the Roses.

With a Tudor on the throne the claims of Welsh Lancastrians were not likely to be ignored; it would, indeed, have been exceedingly ungrateful on King Henry's part, had he forgotten their consistent and enthusiastic support of his family, of which he had received fresh proof on landing at Milford Haven, his forces being considerably increased by Welsh chieftains and their followers, on the march to Bosworth Field.

The disinherited Welshmen and others had not long to wait; Bosworth was fought on August 22, and before the end of the year Jenkin Mansel was fully restored, the attainder reversed, and his

lands reverted to his own possession.[1] The Bill, including the names of Jasper Tudor and many others, is very full in detail as to the removal of every possible stigma and disability.

Jenkin Mansel has, for some reason which is obscure, been made the subject of several remarkable and—with ordinary care in research—quite palpable misstatements.

Mr. W. W. Mansell, in his family genealogy and biography, takes the palm in the matter of anachronisms. He says:

"Jenkin Mansell, of Oxwich, is also spoken of as a warrior and a valiant soldier: but he, like his father, was doomed to suffer on the scaffold. During the Protectorate of the Duke of Gloucester he appears to have had influence at court, as he obtained the repeal of the attainder against his parent." The writer then goes on to relate how the Duke of Buckingham, in revolt against Richard III., raised a body of chosen men in Wales, Jenkin Mansel, with his followers, being among them; but the campaign proving futile, "they dispersed and returned home. Buckingham was betrayed by an old servant, in whose house he had taken refuge, and beheaded at Salisbury. Jenkin Mansell was arrested by Sir Roger Vaughan, and beheaded at Chepstow, agreeable to the orders of Richard."

Here is a grotesque congeries of misstatements. Jenkin Mansel obtained reversal of his father's attainder by an Act of 1 Henry VII., as already described, together with a large number of Lancastrians who had suffered deprivation; not through any influence at Richard's or Henry's court, but simply as an act of reparation on the part of the latter—which sufficiently disposes of the assertion that he was beheaded at Chepstow, "agreeable to the orders of Richard," who was slain at Bosworth Field.

But Mr. Mansell is not content with this *faux pas*; he proceeds: "At a tournament, given by Sir Rice ap Thomas, knight, constable and lieutenant of Brecknock, at his Castle of Carew, to commemorate the Feast of St. George, persons from all parts of

[1] Rolls of Parliament. Vol. vi., pp. 278, 279.

Wales arrived to show their dexterity; amongst others from Glamorgan came Jenkin Mansell, 'surnamed the Valiant.'" Then follows a description of the procession of knights, with their mottoes; and for confirmation of the story the writer gives reference to the Cambrian Register, vol. i., p. 131, which is perfectly correct in this particular, the name of Jenkin Mansel being certainly mentioned as present at this tournament, of which more hereafter.

The chronicler in the Cambrian Register, however, heads his account of the affair: "The peaceable conclusion of the later Parte of Henrie the Seventh his Raigne. The Order of the Garter was conferred upon Sir Rice ap Thomas, Anno Vicesimo Primo, Henrici Septimi. The next year following, Sir Rice seated divers of his friends and kinsmen at his Castle of Carew," etc.

Anno vicesimo primo! Sir Rice was made a knight of the Garter in the twenty-first year of Henry VII., and held a tournament in the following year, 1507, at which Jenkin Mansel, beheaded at Chepstow "agreeable to the orders of Richard," some three-and-twenty years previously, played a prominent part. A fearsome spectacle this Jenkin must have presented, his bones rattling on his ghostly charger!

The tale of inaccuracies is not, however, yet complete; the story proceeds:

"Jenkin Mansell married Edith, daughter and heiress of Sir George Kene, of Eltham, co. Kent, by Cecily, his second wife, daughter of King Edward IV., and widow of John, Viscount Welles. By this marriage the descendants of Jenkin both male and female, became entitled to a presentation to a fellowship in All Souls College, Oxford, as 'akin' to the Archbishop Chicheley, the founder, Edith's grandfather having married Agnes Chicheley."

This is very unwary genealogy, for the birth and marriage of a royal princess are not matters of obscurity. It is perfectly true that Cecily, or Cecilia, third daughter of Edward IV., was married to John, Viscount Welles, who died in 1498; and that she subsequently married—about 1503—one Thomas Kymbe, or Kyme.

The Kymbes were of Lincoln, or of the Isle of Wight, two branches of the same family. As Cecilia, who died in 1507, was buried at Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, it is probable that her husband belonged to that branch, but he was certainly not Sir George Kene of Kent.[1]

Yet another disability presents itself concerning this alleged marriage of Jenkin Mansel's father-in-law; if he had married the Lady Cecilia, she would obviously be grandmother to Jenkin's son, Rhys Mansel, who was born, beyond all question, in 1487, as will presently be demonstrated. Now Cecilia was born in 1469, and is therefore here presented to us as a grandmother at the age of eighteen![2]

This curious muddle has been revived in "Archæologia Cambrensis" (third series, vol. x., p. 112), with circumstantial comment which renders it even more amazing: "Jenkin was afterwards one of those who took part in the celebrated tournament of Carew Castle, and, by his marriage with a granddaughter of Edward IV., he, like his sovereign, united the rival roses in his family." This passage occurs in an article upon the Mansels of Margam; one would certainly have expected "Archæologia Cambrensis" to be above the commission of such a palpable blunder.

Jenkin Mansel thus survived Bosworth Field; whether he and his followers actually fought there is not certain; very possibly they did, as Henry had landed at Milford Haven, obviously in order to enlist the Welsh Lancastrians in his cause. There is, however, not much information available concerning Jenkin, either at this or subsequent periods of his life.

He must have married soon after the accession of Henry and the reversal of the attainder, as his eldest son was born in 1487. His wife, Edith, was daughter to Sir George Kene, of Easthorne and Well Hall, Kent—pedigree probably as follows—the estates having

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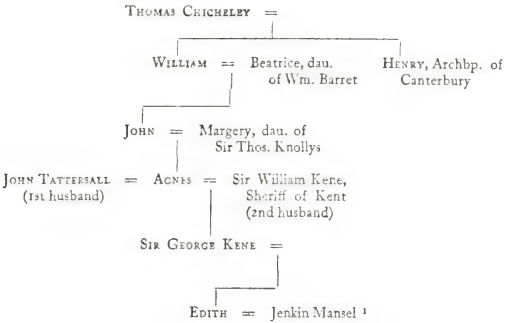
[1] "Complete Peerage," by G. E. C. Vol. viii., p. 79.

[2] There is much that is interesting about Cecilia in "Lives of the Princesses of England," by M. A. E. Wood (*née* Green). The author expresses the view that her second husband was of the middle if not the lower ranks of life, "which leaves this union without a parallel in the annals of English royalty." He appears, however, to have been a gentleman.

become the property, by sale from John de Poultney, of the Chicheley family, in the time of Richard II.



Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the founder of All Souls College, Oxford; his grandniece, Agnes, and others who were "akin" to him, had the right of presentation to a fellowship at this college. Agnes Chicheley, it may be noted, was one of a family of no less than twenty-four. John and Margery certainly did their duty by their country!

Philipot remarks, somewhat vaguely, alluding to the issue of Sir William Kene by Agnes Chicheley, "from whom the Mansells of Wales are extracted."

In the Cambrian Register, as already noted, there is a long account of the great tournament given at Carew Castle, in 1507, by Sir Rhys ap Thomas; it occurs in the course of a very profuse biography of Sir Rhys, who was one of the most wealthy and powerful of Welshmen of this or any time. He was grandson to Griffith ap Nicholas; nephew, therefore, to Mabilia, wife of Philip Mansel, and first cousin to Jenkin.

Whatever part Jenkin Mansel may have played in assisting

[1] Hasted's "History of Kent." Vol. i., p. 54. "Villare Cantianum," by Thos. Philipot; p. 135.

to place Henry, Earl of Richmond, on the throne, it is certain that his cousin, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, was very much in the forefront on that occasion; indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the issue of Bosworth Field depended in great measure upon his intervention on one side or the other; nor did it appear by any means certain, almost up to the last, whether he would throw in his lot with Richard or Henry. He is alleged by some accounts to have rendered active assistance to Richard on the occasion of the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion, and it is certain that he was awarded, some time afterwards, a pension of forty marks; but there is no absolute evidence of his having thus taken Richard's part.

While Henry was mustering his forces at the mouth of the Seine, he received a message from one Morgan, of Kidwelly, to the effect that Rhys ap Thomas was wholly devoted to his cause, together with Sir John Savage. Two days after Henry's landing at Milford Haven, however, when he was in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest, he was informed that Rhys and Sir John were hostile to him; but this report was quickly proved to have been a false one.

Rhys ap Thomas almost certainly intended all along to fight on Henry's side; and certain facts appear to point to the conclusion that his reported vacillation was purposely circulated as a *ruse de guerre*, in order to mislead Richard and throw him off his guard.

Rhys ap Thomas is mentioned, it will be noticed, in conjunction with Sir John Savage, who was a nephew of Lord Stanley; and the Stanleys were certainly on the side of the Earl of Richmond. The inference appears to be that Rhys and Sir John concocted a scheme, by which this report of their adherence to Richard's cause should reach the latter at his headquarters at Nottingham; and the *ruse* appears to have been successful, for though Richard received news on August 11 of Henry's approach, he made no move until the 15th. Further, the three confederates contrived to join Henry at intervals: Rhys two days before he reached Shrewsbury, Sir John Savage between Shrewsbury and Bosworth, and Stanley on the battlefield.

Henry started from the mouth of the Seine on August 1, with a few ships and a force of about 2,000 men, who are described by a French authority, Comines [illegible], as the worst rabble that one

could find—a sorry equipment for an enterprise of such huge import. Henry, however, counted, not without reason, upon the support of the Welshmen; and the report, which reached him at Cardigan, that Rhys ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert [1] were prepared to oppose him at Carmarthen came as a rude shock. Henry, in spite of previous assurances, appears to have been disposed to credit this report, and sent forward a body of cavalry to reconnoitre. They speedily returned with the news that no such opposition was to be feared from Carmarthen; but Rhys ap Thomas and Walter Herbert appear to have conveyed up to the last the impression that they were on Richard's side, for Richard Griffith, a man of good birth, who joined Henry with a force from Carmarthen, is said in one account to have "revolted" to Henry, thus affording ground for the assumption that Rhys and others in the town were on the opposite side. The *ruse* was, in fact, very well conceived and consistently maintained.

Thus Henry progressed towards Bosworth, his "rabble" augmented and stiffened by the accession of many stout Welshmen, their enthusiasm fired by the display of the standard with the fiery red dragon; nor were the bards behindhand with their eulogy, and prophecy of success for the Tudor cause.

At two days' journey from Shrewsbury, Henry came to an understanding with Rhys ap Thomas, who had traversed mid-Wales with the black raven as his standard, and now commanded a large body of men, estimated in a popular ballad at eight thousand, though this is probably an exaggeration.

> "Sir Rhys ap Thomas, a knight of Wales certain,
> Eight thousand spears brought he;
> . . . . .
> Sir Rhys ap Thomas shall break the array,
> For he will fight and never flee." [2]

and again

> "Then Sir Rice ap Thomas drawes Wales with him,
> A worthy sight it was to see,
> How the Welshmen rose wholly with him,
> And snogged them to Shrewsbury." [3]

[1] Walter Herbert was a natural son of Lord Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke; he was afterwards rewarded by Henry with knighthood, and the stewardship of Talgarth and Cantrecelly.

[2] "The Ballad of the Lady Bessy." Early English Poetry, XX. 1847.

[3] "English and Scottish Popular Ballads." Francis J. Child. Vol. iii., p. 331.

It would obviously have been most impolitic on Henry's part to risk losing the support of such a powerful ally; he promised Rhys the lieutenantship of Wales as a reward for his assistance, and so they marched forward in company.

Richard, meanwhile, had apparently been living in a fool's paradise, and was fiercely enraged upon learning, only a few days before the battle, that Henry had traversed Wales without opposition. He had been given to understand that the latter had only a paltry force with him, and that "he should surely have an evell ende whan he showld come to that place, where either he should be forced to fight against his will, or taken alive by Walter Herbert and Rhys ap Thomas."

Richard, it must be acknowledged, was not without warrant for his assumption that Rhys ap Thomas would fight upon his side, for in the previous year, having called upon Rhys, through his commissioners in Carmarthen, to declare upon oath his allegiance to the king, and even to deliver his little son of four years old as a hostage for his good faith, Rhys had replied in a long letter, wherein, while he demurred to the oath and the surrendering of his child, he declared "that whoever, ill affected to the State, shall dare to land in those parts of Wales where I have anie emploiments under your Majestie, must resolve with himself to make his entrance and irruption over my bellie."[1]

There is a legend that Rhys compounded with his conscience for his breach of faith with Richard, by lying in Henry's path when he landed at Milford, so that the latter was compelled to step over him; but there is nothing to show that Rhys was at Milford when Henry arrived. The more simple explanation is that he had changed his mind upon learning that Henry was actually going to make the attempt. King Richard was not an agreeable person to serve, and Rhys, as a prominent Welshman, would need little excuse for "ratting" to a Tudor.

Be this as it may, to Bosworth Field they went, and there is no need to enter here upon any description of that historic event. Richard was slain and Henry was crowned upon the battlefield; and

[1] Cambrian Register. Vol. i., p. 86.

the importance of the services rendered by Rhys ap Thomas and his men may be gauged by the fact that he was knighted on the spot, and was subsequently appointed constable, steward, and lieutenant of Brecknock, steward of Builth, and chamberlain of the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen; he was also a commissioner of mines.[1]

Sir Rhys ap Thomas subsequently became a constant attendant at court, and a favourite of Henry VII., to whom he lent armed assistance upon several occasions. It is said, however, that Henry, while he was affectionate in his manner to Sir Rhys, occasionally styling him "Father Rhys"—though the pair were almost precisely of the same age—regarded him all the while with a certain coldness in his heart.

Sir Rhys, after the accession of Henry, found time in between his courtly duties and his military exploits to enlarge and beautify Carew Castle, which had come into his possession by mortgage from Sir Edmond Carew, whose family had possessed it for several generations.

All accounts agree that Sir Rhys spent great sums of money upon Carew Castle. It lies upon the extremity of a small arm of Milford Haven, on the south side, and presents, like so many other old castles, a considerable diversity in styles of architecture.

Near the castle is an old cross, of intricate interlaced pattern, which has acquired some fame among archæologists, and has also been the subject of controversy in "Archæologia Cambrensis" and elsewhere concerning the signification of an inscription upon it.[2]

Hither, in the year 1507, Sir Rhys summoned his guests to a great tournament, to the number, according to the chronicler in the Cambrian Register, of five hundred; and among these was Jenkin Mansel, "surnamed the Valiant."

Where Jenkin earned this flattering *sobriquet* we are not informed, but it may very well have been at the Battle of Bosworth Field, where it is more than probable that he played his part among

[1] Indebtedness must again be acknowledged to Mr. Howell Evans's admirable and fully authenticated summary of events in "Wales and the Wars of the Roses."

[2] Mr. W. de Gray Birch, in a paper read before the British Archæological Association, in 1885, gives an analysis and rendering of the inscription.

the Welsh champions of the Tudor cause, fighting, perhaps, with the followers of his famous cousin.

Jenkin was by no means a young man when he came to Carew Castle; he must have been in his fifties, being probably older than Sir Rhys, who was born in 1456.

There is a very lengthy and circumstantial account of this display of arms in the Cambrian Register; and here it is stated that Jenkin Mansel adopted as his motto upon this occasion, "Perit sine adversario virtus," a terse and proper "tag" for such a gathering, with not a little truth at the bottom of it.

Jenkin no doubt performed his part creditably in the jousts, at which Sir Rhys officiated as umpire, and, remembering his position as host, appears to have given his decisions with immense tact and goodwill, so as to please his guests all round.

Jenkin Mansel, we are told, was appointed to the honorary office of carver at the feast—no sinecure, if it were other than "honorary"!

Sir Rhys's son, Griffith, having challenged Sir William Herbert to a "course" on the morrow, for a supper at Carmarthen, Sir Rhys again acted as umpire; but we are told that he agreed with Griffith beforehand that it should be given against him—a courtesy, one may suppose, to his guest as well as a precaution against appearing to favour his son unduly.

This great gathering terminated with a comedy acted by some of Sir Rhys's servants: and so they went their several ways, and this is about the last we hear of Jenkin Mansel.

Sir Rhys's son, Griffith ap Rhys—named in State records "Mr.—or Sir—Griffith Rise, or Rice"—was, like his father, attached to the court; he was present, according to Sir Anthony Willoughby, a witness concerning the amenities of the young Prince Arthur's marriage with Katherine of Aragon, when this subject was being discussed by the prince and the gentlemen-in-waiting on the morning after the marriage.[1]

His son, Rhys ap Griffith, married the Lady Katherine

[1] Letters and Papers [illegible], p. 2577.

Howard, fourth daughter—by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Hugh Tilney—of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk.

This Rhys came to grief; he failed to report a proposal of one of his servants that he should persuade the King of Scots, aided by the Welsh, to attempt the conquest of England. It was admitted that Rhys had neither accepted nor approved this scheme; nevertheless, when it came to light, his silence was reckoned as high treason, and he was beheaded December 4, 1531. Attainder followed as a matter of course, and in the following year there appears in State records an inventory of all his possessions, etc., and a very long list it is.[1] These were subsequently dispersed to various persons, or remained in the sovereign's hands. Carew Castle was bestowed in Mary's reign upon Sir John Perrot.[2]

In the Archæological Survey of Wales, just published by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, it is stated that the church of St. Peter at Carmarthen contains the sculptured tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who was not only a great Welshman but a munificent patron of the arts. It is suggested that the design of this tomb was that originally submitted by the Italian sculptor Mazzoni for the monument of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, which was eventually rejected in favour of that of Torregiano, and that Sir Rhys ap Thomas may have taken over the rejected design.

[1] Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. v., pp. 250, 345.

[2] Cal. State Papers, Domestic; p. 63, 1547-1580.

SIR RHYS MANSEL, WITH HIS SECOND WIFE ANNE, DAUGHTER OF SIR GILES BRIDGES, AND THEIR DAUGHTER CATHARINE

(as stated on the original painting)

(Bronze Collection)

Here, then, is sworn evidence that Rhys Mansel was born January 25, 1487; it would appear, however, that he was more than one-and-twenty on January 25 last past before the day of holding the inquisition. It is common enough to find the expression "of the age of twenty-one years and more" in such documents, but here the anniversary of his birth is particularly set forth, and either the year of his birth or this last statement as to his coming of age must be erroneous; he would be three-and-twenty on his last birthday before the inquisition. This discrepancy, however, is not of any importance; the mention of his birthday in the last paragraph may be a slip, or a pedantic solecism on the part of the scribe; the date of his birth as sworn to must be accepted as accurate—January 25, 1487.

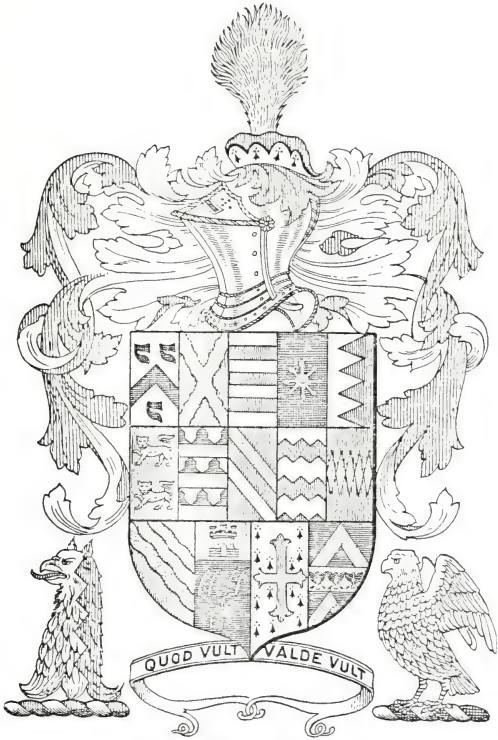
It will be observed that the inquisition was obviously held in order that Rhys Mansel's estates might be released from the care of his guardian, Mathias Cradock; and here perhaps there may be some explanation of the apparent delay in admitting him to the full honours of manhood. The guardianship of a minor was in those days a desirable office, if one may judge from the eagerness with which it was sought, and its occasional bestowal as a favour or reward, and the holder might display some reluctance to yield it up.

There is something to say about Mathias, or Matthew Cradock, and as he is of a senior generation to Rhys Mansel it may as well be said here.

A daughter of Philip Mansel of Oxwich, named in most accounts Alice, but in others Jane, and in R. G. Maunsell's book Elizabeth, married, probably in 1489, Sir Matthew Cradock, of whom some historical notices were published in 1840, from the pen of the Rev. J. M. Traherne, who gives a pedigree tracing his descent from Einon ap Collwyn, who flourished in 1090, and of whom we have heard before in connection with the conquest of Glamorgan.[1]

In writing of this marriage Mr. Traherne says: "Theophilus Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire, in a MS. note appended to a transcript, by W. Davies of Cringell, of part of the Golden Grove

[1] See *ante*, p. 202.



ARMS OF SIR RICE MANSELL.

QUARTERINGS OF SIR RHYS MANSEL'S SHIELD.

1. Mansel.	Arg. a chevron between three maunches sa.
2. Longe.	Gu. a Saltire engrailed or.
3. Scurlage.	Arg. three bars gu.
4. Pennard.	Sa. a carbuncle arg.
5. Penrhys.	Per pale indented arg. and gu.
6. De la Mare.	Gu. two lions passant gardant in pale arg.
7. Braose.	Barry of six vaire gu. and ermine and az.
8. Fitzwalter.	Gu. two bends or and arg.
9. Balun.	Barry of six indented arg. and gu.
10. Newmarch.	Gu. five fusils in fesse or.
11. Bruère.	Gu. two bends wavy or.
12. Cadifor of Dinawall.	Sa. three scaling ladders arg. in honour point a spears crouel arg. gutti de sang; on a chief gu. a tower arg.
13. Keen or Kyne.	Ermine a cross patonce gu.
14. Quartering of Keen: name not known.	Az. a fesse between two chevrouels or: three eagles displayed gu.

[*Face page* 284.

Pedigree Book, in my possession, states that, in 1489, Sir Matthew married Alice, daughter of Philip Mansel of Oxwich Castle, Glamorganshire. As he could not receive the honour of knighthood before he had attained his majority, he must at least have been 21 years of age at the period of his marriage."[1]

This is, of course, very obvious; but it raises at once the question as to the identity of this Matthew with Rhys Mansel's guardian, mentioned in the inquisition. True, he is named Mathias —Latin genitive case *Mathie* for *Mathiæ*, as in most of these old documents—but it is likewise true that Sir Matthew, a person of some note, was also sometimes styled Mathias, and, according to Mr. Traherne, so signed his name. A facsimile of his signature is given, and he, it is alleged, was a knight in 1489, while Mathias of the inquisition is "armiger," or esquire, in 1510.

The authority for the marriage of Sir Matthew Cradock appears, from the above, to be contained in a manuscript note by Theophilus Jones, appended to a partial transcript of the Golden Grove Pedigree Book by one W. Davies of Cringell. Mr. Traherne does not say whether Theophilus Jones gives any reference for the statement, nor does there appear to be any means of authenticating it. However, Traherne and Jones are both known as antiquaries, and the latter especially by his "History of Brecknockshire," above referred to, and there does not appear to be any ground for doubting the assertion; the variations in the Christian name of Philip Mansel's daughter, alluded to above, would appear to indicate some uncertainty in the matter.

Mr. Traherne mentions in a footnote that he had recently (1840) paid a visit to Golden Grove, and had satisfied himself that the transcript by W. Davies of Cringell from the Pedigree Book is absolutely identical with the original. The remark is not *apropos* of the matter with which the writer is dealing at the moment; but it may be interpreted as involving a high opinion of the genealogical work in question, as being worthy of the trouble of transcription, and of the implied approval of Mr. Theophilus Jones.

[1] "Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swansea," by J. M. Traherne; p. 1.

The ground of such high appreciation is not very apparent. The Golden Grove Pedigree Book, now in the Record Office, is a collection, in three thick manuscript volumes, of Welsh pedigrees: one of the numerous products of the mania for genealogy which appears to have existed among the Welsh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There has already been occasion to discuss some of these in connection with the early Maunsell genealogy; they are usually quite unreliable, and not infrequently contain glaring inaccuracies and anachronisms, apparent almost at the first glance.

The Golden Grove Pedigree Book forms no exception to the rule; the pedigrees are drawn up in most bewildering fashion, with a deplorable lack of dates and authorities, and one or two tests have found them signally wanting; as, for instance, the placing of John Maunsell, *temp.* Henry III., as *grandson* to Philip, of Conquest times: no genealogist of any pretension could possibly countenance such an absurdity. The mythical "Henry who came first into Wales" also finds mention here; as usual, without chronological data to place him.

The impression conveyed by this huge collection is, as in the case of other Welsh pedigrees, that it is entirely untrustworthy, and was not worth the trouble of Mr. Davies's transcription, or the pains which Mr. Traherne took in verification of the same.

The statement of Theophilus Jones as to the marriage of Sir Matthew Cradock may, however, be accepted as quite probable; and it obviously carries the implication that Cradock was a knight at the time of his marriage, as Mr. Traherne bases upon this allegation the inference that Matthew was of age at that time. Further on Mr. Traherne says:

"In 1491 Sir Matthew held the office of Steward of Gower, and his name appears together with that of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, and Sir Morgan de Kidwelly, etc., etc., in Letters Patent of Henry VII. dated 7 July, 1491, 'De Subsidio requirendo pro Viagio Franciæ.' Rymer's 'Foedera.'"

It is perfectly true that these names appear among many others under this head in Rymer's "Foedera"; but neither Matthew

Cradock nor Morgan of Kidwelly is styled knight, though the title is appended to a number of names on the list.

Mathias Cradock, Esquire, appears in a charter of December 16, 1502, and as a legatee of David Williams in February, 1505[1]; in two other documents of about the same years he is also styled "Esquire"; in a charter dated January 10, 1520, however, he is named Sir Mathyas Cradock, Knight.[2]

On April 27, 1513, Mathew Cradock, with others, was appointed on a Commission of the Peace, in Glamorgan and Morgan, to assemble at Cardiff on July 18,[3] and his name appears in another paper in the following year, together with that of Rees Mansel,[4] in neither instance with any title.

In 1512 and 1513 we come across one Matthew or Mathue or Mathias Cradock, as commanding a ship of the navy, named after himself;[5] but nowhere in State records or other authentic documents does he appear to be styled knight, previous to the year 1519.

From Mr. Traherne's pedigree there does not appear to be any reason why Matthew Cradock should have been knighted, as he implies, at the earliest possible age; his father was Richard ap Gwillim ap Evan ap Cradock Vreichfras, of whom probably very little is known. No other Matthew Cradock appears in the pedigree; the only issue of Sir Matthew mentioned is Margaret.

Reverting to the inquisition of April 26, 1510: it appears to be most natural and probable that the guardian of the estates of Rhys Mansel should be his uncle by marriage. Even if there were a question between two Mathias Cradocks, one would without hesitation, in the absence of any precise evidence, give the preference to the husband of his aunt as by far the more probable; but there is none other in the field.

The inference is obviously that Matthew or Mathias Cradock

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[1] "Cartæ et Muniments de Glamorgan." Vol. vi., pp. 2584-5.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. v., pp. 1810-17.

[3] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. i., p. 547.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 831.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 454, 551, 972

was not knighted until some time between 1513 and 1519; he is mentioned as Sir Matthew, deputy of Charles, Earl of Worcester, Chancellor of the County of Glamorgan, April 24, 1519.[1]

The probability appears to be that Matthew Cradock was knighted for his services afloat, in the sea operations connected with the Battle of Flodden Field, which was fought in September, 1513, but direct evidence of this is lacking.

The guardianship of Mathias Cradock over Rhys Mansel's estates, as set forth in the inquisition already alluded to, suggests that Jenkyn Mansel, "the Valiant," who took part in the tournament at Carew Castle some two or three years previously, must then have been dead, else why a guardian for his son? It is certain, at least, that he died before the year 1520, as in the document mentioned above, of that year, in which Sir Mathyas gives acquittance to Sir Rice Mansel of certain lands in Gower, etc., Edith Mansel, Jenkyn's wife, is mentioned as a widow; it appears probable that Jenkyn died before 1510.

Sir Matthew Cradock married, as we have seen, Alice, daughter of Philip Mansel of Oxwich; by this marriage he had issue Margaret, who married, first, John Malefant, of St. George's Castle, county Glamorgan; second, Richard Herbert, of Eiwas, county Monmouth, by whom she became ancestress of the earls of Pembroke of the creation of 1551, and of the present earl, and of the earls of Carnarvon. She married, thirdly, Sir William Bawdrip.

Sir Matthew married, secondly, the Lady Katherine Gordon, widow of the notorious impostor, Perkin Warbeck, who, during his sojourn in Scotland, contrived to make himself so acceptable to James IV. that the latter bestowed upon him the hand of this beautiful and highly-born lady, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and his own cousin.

The unhappy Lady Katherine, humiliated by the detection and abject confession of her husband, and widowed by his execution in November, 1499, took Sir Matthew Cradock as her second husband, probably after the year 1502; she survived him, and was twice

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. iii., pt. i., p. 68

married afterwards. Her third husband was James Strangwis, Esquire, of Fyfield, Berks; her fourth was Christopher Asshton, Esquire, of Fyfield, who survived her.

Sir Matthew died between June 6 and August 16, 1531, the respective dates of a codicil to his will and the granting of probate. He was buried in the family vault in his chapel, on the north side of the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Swansea, where there is a monument to him and Lady Katherine, his wife.

Mr. Traherne concludes that this monument was erected during the lifetime of Sir Matthew, who assumed that his wife would be interred beside him, hence the inscription: "Here lieth Sir Mathie Cradok knight sumetime Depute unto the Right Honorable Charles Earle of Worcet in the Countie of Glamorgan and Morgan Chauncellor of the same Steward of Gower and Kilvel, and mi Ladi Katerin his Wiffe."

Lady Katherine, however, was buried, in accordance with her testamentary directions, in the parish church of Fyfield, where she had found her third and fourth husbands; she died in 1537.

The Cradock vault was opened in the year 1840, and five coffins, without inscriptions, were discovered there; one of these is probably that of Alice Mansel, Sir Matthew's first wife.

Concerning the armorial shields disposed about this monument there will be something to say later.

Of Rhys Mansel we do not hear much until he attained the age of five or six-and-twenty; it may be assumed that he dwelt in Wales, looking after his estates, which were considerable; and in 1511, the year following the inquisition held at Swansea to attest the date of his birth, he married Eleanor, daughter and heir of James Bassett, Esq., of Beaupre.

From the tenor of three deeds, executed respectively upon May 7, 16, and 17, 1511, it would appear that the marriage took place upon the date last named. The proceedings were of a somewhat complicated nature.

On May 7 Rhys Mansel conveyed to John Bassett of Beaupre and Nicholas Williams of Abergavenny the manor of Oxwich, to the use of John and Nicholas.

On the 16th Rhys Mansel granted to John Bassett of Beaupre and Nicholas Williams of Abergavenny his manor of Oxwich, with all the appurtenances thereof in the same, to the use of the said Rhys and his heirs.

On the 17th, grant by John Bassett, late of Beaupre, and Nicholas Williams, late of Abergavenny, at the instance of Rhys Mansel, to the said Rhys and Eleanor his wife, daughter and heir of James Bassett, Esquire, of the manor of Oxwich, lately conveyed to them by the above Rhys to the use of him and his heirs, to Rhys and his wife and their direct heirs, "Endorsed with a clause of delivery of seisin in the presence of John ap Thomas ap Gwilim, Richard Howell, Richard Mauncell, John Hairon, Richard Thomas, Jenkin Russell, Hugh ap Hopkyn, Thomas ap David ap Howell, Nicholas ap Rice."[1]

The witness Richard Mauncell is probably the elder son of Philip Mansel by his second marriage with Elizabeth Longe.

There is no further mention of Rhys Mansel in State or other records until the year 1514, when his name appears, together with that of Matthew Cradock and many others, in a licence to Charles, Earl of Worcester, and Henry Somerset his eldest son, to enfeoff the persons mentioned, of the honor of Gower, the Castle of Swansea, the manor of Eylvey, the manors and castles of Oystermouth Elhoughourne, the manors of Pennarth and West Gower, South Wales, and the manor of Wyhyngton Hereford, with appurtenances.

Rhys Mansel must, however, have become known at court and elsewhere as a seeker after military honours, for in 1517 he was in Flanders, acting in some capacity under the Earl of Worcester. On May 22 of that year the earl writes to Henry VIII. from Malines:

"Begs his favor for his servant Rice Mauncell, the bearer, whom he has licensed to return to England in the matter of his servants, from Wales, who had been convented before Wolsey, and

[1] "Carte et Monumenta de Glamorgan." Vol. v., p. 1794. In the first of these documents Rhys Mansel is [illegible] "Sir R. Mauncell" [illegible] an error, either in the [illegible] transcription, he was not [illegible] years later and is alluded to as Rhys Mansel, *gentleman*, in other deeds of the same year. In the [illegible] deeds of 16 and 17 May he is not styled Sir Rhys.

liberated on bail. Will levy a fine upon them when he returns home."[1]

Rhys, in other words, had leave to go home on "urgent private affairs"; but we hear nothing of what he was doing in Flanders, or for how long he was there. In fact, it is somewhat singular that, in view of his selection later on for command in enterprises demanding experience and military efficiency, there is little or nothing to indicate when and where he acquired such experience and knowledge. That he was regarded as an able and reliable commander there is, however, abundant proof forthcoming.

Nor does it appear at what date Rhys Mansel received the honour of knighthood; the first mention of his name with the title in State records occurs in grants, in the year 1528: "Sir Matthew Cradock, late general receiver in Glamorgan and Morgannok, South Wales, and Sir Edward Grevyle of Melcot, Warwick, Sir Hugh Vaughan of Westminster, and Sir Rice Maunsell late of Glamorgan, North Wales. Release of their recognizance of 1,000 marks entered into at Westminster before the barons of the Exchequer, 23 June, 7 Henry VIII."[2]

Thus it appears that Rhys was knighted at some period between 1517, when he was in Flanders, and 1528—a sufficiently ample margin. It may be assumed, perhaps, without the infringement of probabilities, that the distinction was conferred upon him for his services in Flanders, and that he there also acquired valuable military experience. It will be noted that, in this document, Glamorgan is first located in South Wales, and afterwards in *North* Wales, clearly a slip on the part of the scribe; also, that Rhys Mansel is alluded to as "late of Glamorgan," which appears to demand some explanation, as he held lands in Glamorgan continuously.

In November, 1529, there is a grant to Sir Res Mansell of the lease of certain lands, situated in the lordship of Boviarton, Glamorgan, "parcel of the lands of the late duke of Bedford"—Jasper Tudor.[3]

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 1048.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. iv., pt. ii., p. 1724.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. iv., pt. iii., p. 2710.

Whatever may have been Rhys Mansel's antecedents and previous qualifications in warfare, it is in the rebellion of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald in Ireland, in the year 1534, that he comes into prominence.

In order to comprehend the civil and military affairs in which Mansel was concerned at this period, it is necessary to devote some space to the causes which led up to the rebellion, and the part played therein by the Fitzgeralds.

This ancient family, of Norman descent in the male, and Welsh in the female line, was part of the Anglo-Norman contingent which Dermot, king of Leinster, recruited in Wales, in 1168, to help him in his troubles at home, into which it is not necessary to enter in detail. Dermot was apparently a man of immense physique, cruel, tyrannical, and treacherous, and had in his time been guilty of acts of murder and rapine of almost incredible enormity.

However, he persuaded the Geraldines, or Fitzgeralds, to come over to Ireland; and they eventually became one of the most powerful families in the island, and Earls of Kildare. Garrett Fitzgerald, known as the Great Earl, died in 1513, and it was during the tenure by his son, Garrett Oge, the ninth earl, that the rebellion of 1534 occurred. He filled his father's shoes in the all-important office of lord deputy, and appears to have been almost incessantly engaged in warfare with other chieftains, one of whom having got the ear of Cardinal Wolsey, then at the zenith of his power, Kildare was summoned to England to answer certain charges, and in his absence Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant; this was in the year 1520. Surrey employed himself in collecting evidence against Kildare; but he soon got tired of his office—Ireland was a very unrestful country at that time—and begged the king to recall him, which was done in 1521. Kildare returned to Ireland in 1523, but not as lord deputy. In 1526, however, he was again summoned to London, being then once again lord deputy, where he was subjected to a cross-examination and some very bitter words before Wolsey and the Privy Council, to which he replied in a very clever and somewhat defiant speech, and was sent back to the Tower.

Kildare was, however, again restored to favour and confidence, and in 1529 he returned to Ireland—not on this occasion as lord deputy: this office was bestowed upon Sir William Skeffington, Kildare being sent with him to advise and assist him.

Such an arrangement was obviously doomed to failure; Kildare was much too proud to play second fiddle to an English knight, and after a year or two, during which the deputy and Kildare quarrelled with increasing intensity, the latter, in 1532, went to England and laid his case before the king, with the result that Skeffington was removed, and the earl once more became deputy, on this occasion with a huge accession of power and independence, for Wolsey was dead, and he feared no one else.

He removed and appointed whom he would in the important ecclesiastical and other offices; and at his instigation his brother James Fitzgerald and his cousin Conn O'Neill entered the English pale, burned the villages, and drove away the cattle.

These excesses being reported by the Dublin Council, in 1533, to the king, and the deplorable state of the country attributed to the misrule and violence of Kildare, the latter was once more summoned to England—a mandate which he was by no means in a hurry to obey. There is reason to believe that at this time he contemplated open rebellion, as it was known that he had supplied his castles with military stores from the Government arsenal at Dublin, in spite of the prohibition of the Master of the Rolls, who forbade him in the king's name.

However, upon receipt of a peremptory mandate which admitted of no evasion, save in open rebellion, he set about preparing for the journey.

The Geraldines had by this time become thoroughly Irish; they spoke and wrote the Irish language, read Irish books and Irish lore, and were as much attached to all the national customs as the natives themselves.

As allusion has already been made, and will recur, to the pale, it is as well to explain the meaning of the term. The word "pale," derived through French from the Latin "palus," signifies in the first instance a stake, or a collection of stakes closely placed, forming

a *paling*; and the development of this, as a topographical term, signifying a district marked off from the surrounding country by a different system of law and government, or by definite boundaries, is obvious enough. The best-known example is that of the English pale in Ireland, dating from the time of Henry II., though the term was not in use in this connection until the latter part of the fourteenth century. The pale varied according to the strength or weakness of the English authorities, and in the time of Henry VIII. was bounded by a line drawn from Dundalk to Kells, thence to Naas, and from Naas east to Dalkey, embracing part of the modern counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare. The pale existed until the complete subjugation of Ireland by Elizabeth. There was an English pale also in France until 1588, and for a short time under the Tudors in Scotland.[1]

When Kildare made up his mind to obey the king's mandate and proceed to England, he determined to leave his son, the young Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, as deputy in his place; and accordingly, in the presence of the members of the council, then (1534) sitting at Drogheda, he delivered the sword of office to the young nobleman and addressed him as follows:

"Son Thomas: you know that my sovereign lord the King hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But however it falleth, I am now well stept in years; and so I must in haste decease, because I am old. Wherefore, insomuch as my winter is well near ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is, that you behave so wisely in these your green years, as that with honour you may grow to the catching of that hoary winter in which you see your father fast faring. And whereas it pleaseth the King his majesty, that upon my departure here hence I should substitute in my room such a one for whose government I could answer; albeit I know your years are

[1] From Dundalk to Kells is roughly thirty English statute miles; from Kells to Naas about thirty-five, and thence to Dalkey about twenty-five: the sea-coast completes the boundaries; rather a small area for the English, whose numbers, however, fluctuated considerably with their fortunes, and the pale was sometimes but sparsely peopled by them, though the Irish overflowed into it.

tender, and your judgment not fully rectified; and therefore I might be with good cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a young man's hand; yet forsomuch as I am your father I am well contented to bear that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that I may commend you as your father and correct you as my son for the wrong handling of your helm. And now I am resolved day by day to learn rather how to die in the fear of God, than to live in the pomp of the world. Wherefore, my son, consider that it is easy to raze and hard to build; and in all your affairs be ruled by this board, that for wisdom is able to lesson you with sound and sage advice. For albeit in authority you rule them, yet in counsel they must rule you. My son, although my fatherly affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your good inclination asketh it to be shorter. And upon that assurance, here in the presence of this honorable assembly, I deliver you this sword."

Thus in tears did the earl admonish his son, and committing him and the members of the council to the care of God, set sail for England.[1]

The earl's parting speech to his son reminds one somewhat of the well-known pompous exordium of old Polonius to Laertes; certainly Kildare had good reason to know that "it is easy to raze and hard to build"; but this is a lesson which the Irish people have never learned, or at least have failed to utilise.

The earl, on his arrival in England, was arrested on the charge that he had furnished his own castles from the king's stores; he was sent to the Tower, to await his trial upon this and other still more serious charges. What might have been the outcome, had the young Thomas acted upon his father's advice, and had all gone quietly in Ireland, it is hard to say: but all went otherwise.

Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was only one-and-twenty; brave, sincere, and generous by nature. He was known as "Silken Thomas"—not, as might be inferred, from any personal characteristic, or

[1] Kildare's allusions to his own age strike one as somewhat theatrical, and put on for the occasion. According to the "Complete Peerage," he was born in 1487, and so was at this time forty-seven years of age.

suavity of manner, but because his retinue of some 140 horsemen wore each a silken fringe upon his helmet.

No sooner was the Earl of Kildare well on his way to England than the enemies of the Geraldines set to work to effect the ruin of the youthful deputy, and the overthrow of his race—and they succeeded only too well.

Within the pale the Fitzgeralds were hated—not without reason; and presently a report was spread that the earl had been beheaded in England—which it was quite within the bounds of possibility that he might have been—and that all his relations in Ireland were to be treated in like manner.

The report was false, a trumped-up story deliberately circulated in order to goad young Thomas to some outrageous action; and he fell into the trap with fatal facility.

Having consulted some of the Irish chieftains, who were always ready for a fight, he rode into Dublin with his seven score horsemen, with their silk-bedizened helmets, entered the council chamber and renounced his allegiance, delivering up the sword and robes of state. Archbishop Cromer, his father's friend, besought him to reconsider his purpose, but the voice of an Irish bard was heard from without, praising the Silken Lord, and urging him to avenge his father's death. These Welsh and Irish bards have been responsible for a lot of mischief in their time!

Thomas threw down the sword, and rushed from the building, fully committed to the utterly futile rebellion which was to prove the ruin of himself and his family.

Collecting a large force of the Irish sept[1] of the pale, Lord Thomas approached Dublin, and was admitted without resistance on promise of protection for the inhabitants and their families.

Then ensued an incident of flagrant brutality. John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, with some others, had taken refuge in the castle, whence he attempted to escape by the river, but was captured and brought half-naked before Lord Thomas and his uncles. It is

[1] Sept—a portion or division of a nation, a clan: used originally in this sense in Ireland. The pale appears to have contained a great number of Irish at this time; rather a farcical arrangement, the pale being supposed to exist for the segregation of the English.

said that he threw himself on his knees before Thomas, imploring mercy, and the latter, compassionating him, but assuming an air of sternness, said in Irish, "Take the clown away from me," meaning no doubt that the bishop should be removed in custody; but his contemptuous epithet and uncompromising manner were all too readily interpreted otherwise by the attendants, who murdered the unfortunate prelate on the spot.

This terrible crime, as a matter of course, brought a sentence of excommunication against Lord Thomas and his followers; it is said that a copy was sent to the earl in the Tower, but probably he never saw it, for on hearing the news of his son's rebellion he took to his bed, being already sick of palsy, and died in a few days.

With almost incredible dalliance—which perhaps finds a parallel in a very recent phase of Irish history—the English Government postponed the adoption of active measures for months, during which Lord Thomas and his crew, joined by some of the Irish chieftains, sacked and burned and devastated portions of the country.

Soon after news of the outbreak reached the king he appointed Sir William Skeffington lord deputy; but the latter delayed his departure for several months, and then arrived too ill to act, and with a body of only 500 men; and the rebels wasted and burned the English settlements without opposition.

There are various allusions to the Irish affairs and to Sir William Skeffington in the letters of that very industrious and informing State gossip, Chapuys, ambassador at the English court for Charles V., Emperor of Germany. He alludes contemptuously to the delay in taking action, and on one occasion says: "It seems as if the king wishes to destroy Ireland, as he does not make provision of men, and sends such a governor who is the most incompetent for such a charge that could be chosen."[1] There is an uncomplimentary allusion also to Skeffington in a letter from John Husee the younger to Lord Lisle: "Skeffington goes into Ireland with 1,500 men.

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. vii., p. 412.

God send him good luck, better than the most part would he should have. He is scantily beloved."[1]

Skeffington does not appear, indeed, to have merited either respect or esteem: he bungled the whole business egregiously, and at the end of 1534 was no nearer subduing the rebels than when, after innumerable delays, he set out.[2]

SIR RHYS MANSEL'S SHIELD OVER THE GATEWAY OF OXWICH CASTLE.

Roused at length to some realisation of the disastrous state of affairs, King Henry despatched Lord Leonard Grey, Marshal of Ireland, to deal with the matter; and among those who took part in the speedy repression of the rebellion, early in 1535, appears the name of Sir Rhys Mansel.

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. vii., p. 390. This John Hutee, or Hussey, was probably of the same family as Henry Hoese, or Hussey, who married the daughter of Alard le Fleming, *temp.* Henry III. *See the* Gloucester Maunsells, *ante*.

[2] The summary of events is taken mainly from "A Short History of Ireland," by P. W. Joyce.

In a letter from Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer and receiver-general in Ireland, to Thomas Cromwell, occurs the following: "Sir Rice Maunxell, Leonard Skeffington and Mr. Eglionby are at Trym, 20 miles from Dublin, with about 500 men." Other forces were within six miles of Dublin.[1] This was dated February 15, 1535; on March 13 Sir Wm. Skeffington writes from Dublin to Sir Edmund Walsingham, lieutenant of the Tower, saying that he had been taken ill on "the Sunday before St. Katherine's day," and an hundred more besides, of whom he believes forty are dead—the plague was raging in Ireland at this time—and that during his illness "Sir Rice Mansell, Leonard Skeffington and 160 of his retinue were the first who entered the garrison at Trym. . . . He has divided the army into garrisons. The lord Chancellor . . . Sir Rice Mansell . . . lie at Trym, Kenles, the Navon and West Meath. . . . Begin to-day to lay siege to Maynooth."[2]

In another letter to Sir Edmund, bearing the same date, Sir William Skeffington says: "Sir Rise Mansell with his bande, and my sone, Leonard Skeffington . . . have done right good explootes and acceptable service in noyeing the traytour and his followers."

Skeffington's purpose, above declared, of besieging Maynooth, was successfully carried out, as we learn in a letter from Sir Rhys Mansel to Thomas Cromwell; apparently the king had written to Mansel, and it may be assumed that this was in commendation of his services:

"Res Manxell to Cromwell, 1 April 1535. Has received the King's letters, and thanks Cromwell for his. Has not written because, amongst others, his clerk was slain, and he himself has lain abroad in the country, and knew not the time when the Lord Deputy or any other did send to Cromwell. Is sure the Lord Deputy, Mr. Pawlett, and Mr. Treasurer of the King's Wars will have certified Cromwell of the siege and winning of Menoth (Maynooth). Trusts

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. viii., p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152. The date, March 13, appears to clash with the statement that he was taken ill "the Sunday before St. Katherine's day": the Feast of St. Catherine of Genoa falls on March 22. Perhaps the old calendar accounts for the apparent anachronism.

shortly to write of the winning of other fortresses now in the hands of the traitor Thomas Fyz Garald." [1]

It is evident from this letter, which is dated from Maynooth, that Rhys Mansel was in a position of some responsibility and authority, being in direct communication with King Henry and his secretary.

The "winning of Maynooth," the rebels' strongest fortress, is briefly recounted in a letter to the king from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland. They describe the castle as "so strongly fortified, both with men and ordnance, as the like hath not been seen in Ireland since any your most noble progenitors had first dominion in the land. There was within the same above 100 able men, whereof were above 60 gunners." The Earl of Kildare had, indeed, as has been noted, denuded Dublin of military stores, etc., wherewith to arm this and other stations; the rebels imagined that Maynooth was impregnable—a term which has been repeatedly applied to sundry works and fortresses in all ages and in all parts of the world, and which has in many instances been stultified by the action of a skilful and courageous assailant, well equipped for the adventure.

The castle of Maynooth furnished an instance of this misapplication of the term; and the siege is interesting, as probably the first occasion upon which heavy artillery was employed for such purposes in Ireland. The rebels had mounted guns for defensive purposes, but they did not anticipate a continuous bombardment of several days as the preliminary to an assault.

Henry VIII. was quick to recognise the value of artillery, and at this time had caused to be cast some heavier brass guns than had previously been made in England, which perhaps were used at Maynooth. It is probable also that shells were first invented in Henry's reign by two foreigners whom he brought over from France or Holland. Stow, in his chronicle, gives some details concerning these shells, and the mortars from which they were projected: "Being at the mouth from eleven inches until nineteen inches wide, for the use whereof they also caused to be made certain hollow shot

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. viii., p. 188.

of cast iron, to be stuffed with firework or wildfire; whereof the bigger sort for the same had screws of iron to receive a match to carry fire kindled, that the firework might be set on fire for to break in pieces the same hollow shot, whereof the smallest piece hitting any man would kill or spoil him." (Stow's Chronicle, pp. 571, 584.)

Well, well! we have made some progress since those days in the matter of implements for "killing and spoiling" men! But the mortars in use in the Crimean War were not much in advance of these pieces of the sixteenth century.

With these brass siege guns the English gunners attacked first on the north-west side of the castle, with the result that the whole superstructure was battered down, burying the enemy's guns under the *débris*; then ensued a five days' bombardment on the north side, which opened a huge breach, by which the final and successful assault was delivered, and the castle carried by storm.

So dismayed were the Irish rebels by this unexpected result, that they persisted in maintaining that their stronghold was betrayed by a traitor, and the English admitted in this wise.

Thomas Leland, in his "History of Ireland," gives a most circumstantial account of the betrayal of the castle, setting forth that the traitor was one Parese, foster-brother to Silken Thomas, who "entered into a secret treaty with the English commander, and betrayed the castle for a stipulated reward. As he had neglected to make any conditions for the security of his person, the Irish annalists inform us that Skeffington, on entering the fort, first paid him the price of his perfidy, and then ordered him to immediate execution." (Vol. ii., pp. 149-150.)

Five-and-twenty of the rebels were, indeed, executed two days later; but Leland's story is nothing better than romance.

On May 24 Mansel was again at Trym, and things were beginning to straighten out a little, the army being so disposed as to safeguard the pale, and keep some kind of order. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald's wife was being taken to England by Pawlett.[1]

In June Mansel assisted at the taking of Knokgraffon Castle.[2]

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. viii., p. 285.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 348

In August of this same year comes a plaint from Lady Mansel—Rhys Mansel's third wife, Cecily, daughter of John Daubridgecourt, of whom we shall presently hear a good deal more:

"Cessell Manxel to Cromwell. 3 August 1535. Whereas the King commanded my bedfellow Mr. Manxell to repair to Ireland, and he, without regarding his wife, children, lands and goods, left all to do his duty; and whereas most of his living is encumbered with jointures and other charges, so that, if God should take him, I and my children are undone, for I am a stranger in these parts, and should obtain little favour; and as things are not done to his profit he sustains many losses;—please, therefore, to obtain liberty for him to come home that he may set his things in order. If he continues there during the winter, the pain and cold will be so dangerous that he will not be able to bear it. Few of his retinue have escaped the sickness."[1]

This is dated from Bewpeer, *alias* Beaupre, in Wales.

Fitzgerald's revolt was, however, already tottering to its fall; on August 27 the Council of Ireland writes to the king the news of the surrender of Thomas.

"Fitzgerald, in the presence of Sir Rice Maunsell, John Salisbury, and William Sentlowe, finally confessed his abominable offences towards you, and yielded himself into the hands of Lord Leonard and Butler, and to be ordered 'concerning his life and otherwise' as should please you. Lord Leonard repairs at this season to you for that purpose, bringing with him the said Thomas."

This is dated, "From the Camp of your host," August 27, and is signed by James Butler, J Rawson, P. of Kylmaynham, R. B. of Delvyn, R. Manxell, John Salisbury, John Sentlowe, William Brabazon, Gerard Aylmer, Justice.[2]

In this same letter the Council records its appreciation of the notable services of Lord Leonard Grey: "We also beseech you to give your thanks to Lord Leonard for his notable service at this season, for the said Thomas would yield to no other but him, and to

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. ix., p. 6.

[2] Carew MSS., p. 74. 1515-1574.

ENTRANCE PORCH, OLD BEAUPRÉ, GLAMORGANSHIRE

(Drawn by W. Eaton, A.R.I.B.A., 1912.)

return him hither with speed, for the captains of your army and the nobles and gentlemen of this land are contented gladly to be governed and led by him." [1]

To wind up the subject of the Irish rebellion: Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was conducted to England by Lord Leonard Grey, and eventually committed to the Tower, where he was detained for eighteen months. Chapuys, in one of his gossiping letters to his sovereign, has the following, under date October 13, 1535: "The Earl of Kildare (it will be recollected that Thomas's father had died in the Tower) having been some days in this court at his liberty, has been at last sent to the Tower, and many doubt of his life, although Lord Leonard, who promised him pardon on his surrender, says that he will not die. The said Lord Leonard, as I hear, has pleaded hard for his promise to the said Kildare, but they have stopped his mouth, the King giving him a great rent and the concubine a fine chain with plenty of money. It is quite certain, as I wrote last, that the said Kildare, without being besieged or in danger from his enemies, stole away from his men to yield himself to Lord Leonard; I know not from what motive—inclination or despair." [2]

This is a sorry tale, and, it is to be feared, an "ower true" one. The end of the business was that Kildare and his five uncles, who had been invited by Lord Leonard, as lord deputy, to a banquet, and been arrested on their arrival, were executed at Tyburn in February, 1537, in spite of the known fact that his uncles had not actively participated in the rebellion, and Thomas, as we have seen, surrendered on promise of pardon, which he certainly did not deserve;

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[1] Lord Leonard Grey was the sixth son of Thomas Grey, first Marquis of Dorset. Grey's sister was second wife to Thomas Oge Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and therefore stepmother to Thomas the young rebel. Lord Leonard was created Viscount Grane in the Irish peerage for his services on this occasion. He came to grief later, however, being accused of favouring the Irish chiefs in their attacks on the English pale, by reason of his sister's marriage with the late Earl of Kildare. He was summoned before the council in England, and having pleaded guilty to "heinous offences" against the king, was beheaded July 28, 1541.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. ix., p. 197. "The concubine" was the title by which Anne Boleyn was known among continental courtiers, etc., who refused to recognise the validity of her marriage with Henry VIII. Chapuys is, however, wrong in stating that Silken Thomas gave himself up without necessity—he was in the last extremity of defeat; nor was there any treachery, as is alleged by some, on the part of his adherents.

Henry being determined, apparently, to exterminate the Fitzgeralds, and, *more suo*, permitting no such trifling considerations as a pledge of pardon, or innocence of crime, to interfere with his purpose.

On September 9 Lady Mansel again appeals to Cromwell to permit the return of her husband: "I beg so much of your goodness to Mr. Manxell, my husband, that he may come home now that the King's enemies are subdued. You shall be assured of our services. Unless you grant this favour, I and his poor children are utterly undone."[1]

This plea on the part of Cecily Mansel, put forth in each of her letters, that unless her husband is permitted to return she and her children will be "utterly undone," appears to demand some explanation. Sir Rhys was certainly possessed at this time of considerable estates in Wales, and it would be imagined that these would be administered during his absence, for the benefit of his wife and children, by a bailiff or other agent acting under his authority.

However, he appears to have returned at the end of 1535, or early in the following year. In February, 1536, he is placed on the Commission of Peace for the counties of Glamorgan and Morgannok, and in June of the same year he is appointed Chamberlain of Chester,[2] an important post, carrying the management of the financial and domestic affairs of the county.

In October, 1536, we find mention of Sir Rhys in the Irish army accounts, from which it would appear that he provided a force of 200 foot, and some officers and petty officers, for whom remuneration, as well as an allowance for provision of horses, is provided for in the accounts.[3]

In the same year Rhys Mansel, as chamberlain of the county of Chester, together with other gentlemen of the county, received orders to render every assistance in providing men for the "perfect establishment of the Northern parts." This was in connection with what was termed, by the one side, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and by

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. ix., p. 107.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 527.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. xi., p. 373.

THE MANSEL-BASSET TOMB AT BEAUPRÉ.

(From a Photograph by Thomas Mansell Franklen, Esq., St. Hilary, Glamorgan.)

the other "the Northern Rebellion," but Sir Rhys does not appear to have taken any active part in this business; no doubt he would have been on the king's side had he done so. There will be a good deal to say about the Pilgrimage of Grace in another chapter; one Maunsell, at least, was very deeply concerned in it.

There are various allusions to Sir Rhys Mansel, in his capacity of chamberlain of Chester, during the following year or two; a periodical grant of £10, as a member of the Council of Chester, and on several occasions communications concerning sundry complaints and judicial proceedings against divers persons. On December 19, 1538, we find him writing to the Lord Cromwell, of the Council, a politic letter, begging the continuance of Cromwell's goodness, and sending "a barren hind" as a Christmas present. It was exceedingly important for anyone holding office to keep on good terms with Cromwell and his unscrupulous and tyrannical master.

That Sir Rhys Mansel was committed to acquiescence in the king's spoliation and dissolution of the monasteries we have evidence in a letter from one John ap Rice to Cromwell, in 1539, in which it is stated that the abbot of Neath "is contented to surrender his house." The writer adds: "Sir Rice Mauncell and Mr. George Herbert, who dwell near the monastery, are meet to be commissioners."

Commissioners, that is to say, on behalf of the king, to receive the abbot's surrender of his house, and report the same at headquarters.

John ap Rice says that Sir Rhys Mansel dwelt near Neath Abbey. It is not clear from this statement which of his manors or estates is indicated: Penrhys and Oxwich are some twenty miles from Neath; Beaupre, which he held at this time through his first wife, is near Cowbridge, much further south.

On March 1, 1539, the king issued a Royal Commission for a general muster, and in Glamorgan Sir Rhys, as steward of the lordship of Llandaff, sends in his list of effectives, including his own servants or retainers, who number nearly 200.[1]

In the same year Sir Rhys was one of the commissioners

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xiv., pt. i., p. 326

appointed by the king "to search and defend different portions of the coast"; [1] his name also appears on Commissions of the Peace for the county of Chester.[2]

With regard to Sir Rhys Mansel's alleged eligibility, as set forth in the letter of John ap Rice to Cromwell, as a commissioner for the surrender of Neath Abbey to the king, we have here an indication of a turning-point in his life in respect of the matter of religious conviction, or profession. In his childhood and youth, before King Henry VIII. came to loggerheads with the pope over his divorce from Katharine of Aragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, Rhys Mansel must certainly have professed the old Faith, in common with the whole of Christendom. When Henry, finding the pope immovable in his opposition to the divorce, broke off relations with Rome, and declared himself as the Head of the Church in England, there was necessarily a parting of the ways; each individual was presented with the alternative of adhesion to the pope or to the king. The former course was necessarily attended with peril, and those who pursued it did so at the probable cost of their lives. There was, however, no question at the moment of the modification or abandonment of important tenets of the old religion. Henry had, indeed, been named "Defender of the Faith" as a recognition of his able defence of certain doctrines. Nevertheless, various innovations of an increasingly drastic nature were imminent, and men were called upon, if not at first in public and with menace of penalties, at least by their consciences, to make their choice between the old and the new. There is a lengthy document among the State Papers, written by Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, in the year 1539, under the title "A summary declaration of the faith, uses and observations in England," headed with the text, 1 Peter iii. 15: "Being ready always to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope that is in you." In this treatise Derby attempts to show that the English people are in far better condition, spiritually, than they were formerly, and is very strong on the subject of the

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xiv., pt. i., p. 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 584.

pope's jurisdiction; also defending the execution of Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and the friars and others who had suffered death under Henry VIII. for their heroic defence of papal rights.

This is no place for a theological treatise, and the reader shall not be subjected to any such infliction. Lord Derby's effusion is mentioned merely as showing that at this period there was much searching of heart on the question; and among those who elected to adopt the views set forth in Derby's paper, which was probably widely known, must be included Sir Rhys Mansel. That his attitude was wise and politic from a worldly point of view there can be no doubt; and in the following year we find him reaping certain fruits of his acceptance of the "new learning," which he assuredly would not otherwise have enjoyed.

The surrender of Margam Abbey to the king's commissioners has already been noticed, together with the estimated value of the lands, etc., pertaining thereto.[1] In June, 1540, the following appears among the grants in State records: "Sir Ricous Manxell, Grant, in fee, for £938 6s. 8d., of the house and site of the late monastery of Morgan *alias* Margam in co. Glamorgan and Morgan, S. Wales; the church, steeple, and churchyard thereof; with a water-mill, fishery in the water of Aven, and all lands, etc., within and without the said site, and belonging to the said late monastery; the granges called the 'Newe graunge,' the 'Upper graunge,' 'Noge Court graunge,' and 'Whitecrosse graunge' in Morgan; the land called Southowse in Morgan; the grange called 'Seynt Myghell's graunge,' and two parcels of land called 'Langlond and Portland' in Morgan and Kenfegge; the grange of 'Tangelust *alias* Tanglustlande,' in Kenfegge: the grange of Llangewithe, in said co.; the grange of Storney, in Morgan; and the coalmine in Kevenerebrone *alias* Kevencrebur and Brombell, in Morgan; and all tithes of grain and hay in Penvey, Glamorgan; all which belonged to the said late monastery; in as full manner as Lewis Thomas, the last abbot, held the same. Annual value of (1) Llangewyth grange and the said

[1] See *ante*, p. 217.

tithes, £13 8s. 8d., and (2) of the rest £38 14s.; rents 26s. and 10½d. and 77s. 5½d."[1]

In a charter dated April 1, 1540, concerning a lease of certain lands, Sir Rhys Mansel is alluded to as "of Margam," having previously rented some of the Abbey lands from the king; the royal charter approving the sale of the lands is dated June 22 in the same year.

Although Sir Rhys was supposed, by the terms of the charter, to have purchased "all lands, etc., within and without the said site, and belonging to the said late monastery," some of the lands were apparently withheld; for in the year 1543 he purchased, at the cost of £642 9s. 8d., a number of manors and tenements, mills, granges, and what not, "all which premises belonged to the said monastery of Margam; and all possessions of that monastery in Margam, both within and without the monastery walls, and in Brodemede, Brombille, Egloese Nuney, Cryke and Pentre in Margam parish and in the parishes of Marcrosse and Pylle, co. Glamorgan; also certain woods specified in Cryke, Margam, Horgrove and Pylle. The value of the premises exceeds the price paid by £100, which is hereby released."[2]

Sir Rhys apparently paid £500 down out of the £938 6s. 8d., and the balance on October 1, 1540;[3] and he did not, after all, pay the full sum of £642 9s. 8d. for the remaining lands, etc., for we find in the records of the Court of Augmentations, November 20, 1544, a memorandum that the king will accept £300, payable in three instalments of £100 each, in lieu of the larger sum.[4]

Mansel appears to have been favoured in respect of this second transaction; but there must surely have been some sharp practice on the part of the king's representative in the matter of the lands and manors of the Abbey, for on August 28, 1546, is recorded

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xv., p. 409. The value of the Abbey holdings, as estimated at the time of the Dissolution, is contained in "Valor Ecclesiasticus," vol. iv., p. 350, and has already been transcribed. *See* Appendix. The Royal Charter for the sale of the Abbey to Sir Rhys is given in full. "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan," vol. v., p. 1918.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xviii., pt. ii., p. 54.

[3] "History of Margam Abbey," by W. de G. Birch; p. 361.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 362.

Obverse.

SEAL OF KING HENRY VIII., ATTACHED TO THE DEED OF PURCHASE OF MARGAM ABBEY.

the sale to Sir Rhys Mansel, for the sum of £678 1s. 6d., of "the demesne and manor of Hawode y Porthe, the manor of Kenfyge, and the manor of Tethegistoo, late belonging to the dissolved Abbey, and Seynt Mychaelles Mill, in the parish of Margam, the Grange of Llanvegelyth, land called Crikewood, lands in Hawoode y Porthe, Kenfige, Llanvegellith, Trissaint, Margam, and the grange or farm of Horgroo, in the parish of Tethegistoo."[1]

Nor is this the end of the business; after the death of Henry VIII. and his son, Edward VI., a further sale took place of the manor of Laleston, in the reign of Philip and Mary; the estate is described as "a manour of itself and parcel of the said monastery, and came to their majesties predecessours hands abought anno xxviii. Henry VIII. by suppression, and liethe in a good soil."

For this manor Mansel paid the sum of £223 15s. 3d., December 11, 1557; and in the following year he and his heirs were granted free warren in certain of his lands, with permission to make a park of one hundred acres.[2]

Thus Sir Rhys Mansel eventually paid the sum of £2,130 3s. 5d. for that which he was certainly supposed to have had, if the terms of the first charter are to be literally accepted, for £938 6s. 8d. There may be come explanation which does not appear on the surface; but the men who played the part of Ahab towards the well-kept lands of the monks—only Ahab did offer in the first instance to pay Naboth for his vineyard—were not likely to stick at trifles. Laleston manor, and other estates included in the supplementary sales, duly appear in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" as belonging to the Abbey.

However, it is too late now to find out how these things were managed. Sir Rhys Mansel paid ultimately for the Margam estate the sum above mentioned, which is equivalent to about £10,500 in modern value—not a heavy price, after all, for a fine demesne situated in beautiful surroundings.

There has necessarily been some anticipation in dealing with

[1] "History of Margam Abbey," by W. de G. Birch; p. 362.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 364. Dr. Birch gives full references for all these transactions.

these transactions, which it appeared preferable to describe in their entirety, rather than revert to the various stages chronologically.

In the year 1540 Mansel was nominated for the post of Sheriff of Glamorgan, and in the following year was duly "pricked" as holding the office.[1]

Sir Rhys also figures upon various occasions as a commissioner to investigate and report upon claims or alleged trespasses, etc. In 1538 he and one George Mathew were commissioned by royal command to enquire into the accusation of Richard Hare against Walter Herbert, who had seized Hare's ship and conveyed it to Chepstow, by virtue, as Herbert alleged, of the king's letters. Herbert was apparently careful not to be on the spot to face the commissioners, who could only send depositions of witnesses—presumably on Richard Hare's side.[2]

In the year 1543 King Henry found himself at loggerheads once more with Scotland and France. Scotland at this time was the scene of a nest of intrigue, which is attributed by most historians to the machinations of David Beaton (or Bethune), cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews. On the death of James V. of Scotland, in 1542, Henry had endeavoured to inaugurate a new policy with regard to Scotland; and, adopting a conciliatory attitude, he released the prisoners, several of whom were nobles of high standing, captured at Solway Moss, and permitted them to return home, on the understanding, by a solemn bond, that they were to do all in their power to further Henry's new scheme for the marriage of the infant queen Mary of Scotland with his son, Prince Edward, the deliverance of Mary into his hands, to be brought up in England; or, failing the acquiescence of the Scottish Parliament in this scheme, to assist the English king in subjugating Scotland, or return to their captivity.

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xvi., pp. 145, 644. Three eligible men are nominated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the judges of King's Bench on "the morrow of St. Martin"—Nov. 12—and one, usually the first in order, is "pricked" by the king in council in February or March following; but this is not an invariable precedent. In 1540 Rhys Mansel was the first on the list, but George Herbert, the third, was pricked; he had, perhaps, been especially industrious in assisting at the "grabbing" of monastic properties.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. xiii., pt. i., p. 49.

Reverse.

SEAL OF KING HENRY VIII.

Prince Edward was at this time six years of age, while the Queen of Scots had not yet completed her first year of existence; but such premature contracts or treaties were not uncommon in those times.

There was much to be said in favour of this scheme; had it been carried out, and had Edward survived to maturity, much evil and misery might have been averted. However, as it turned out, the young English king died at the age of sixteen, Mary of Scotland being then eleven—the age at which, according to Henry's plan, she was to have been married to his son.

Cardinal Beaton, at the death of the Scottish king, had produced an alleged will of the latter, appointing himself and the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Arran joint regents; this was, however, denounced as a forgery. Arran was declared governor of the kingdom, and Beaton was arrested; but it was a somewhat farcical arrest, and possibly intended as such, for his appointed custodian was Lord Seaton, a sworn partisan of the cardinal, who eventually restored him to his own castle. The Scottish parliament, while agreeing to the proposed treaty of marriage between the infant prince and princess, declined to permit the latter to be brought up in England. Treaties were, however, drawn up in July, 1543; but Beaton, who was a red-hot Scotsman and ally of France, raised a faction against it, and, mustering a large force, conducted the princess to Stirling Castle for safe custody. Eventually, through the influence of Beaton and the French party, the treaties were repudiated, and Henry resolved upon warlike reprisals against Scotland.

Meanwhile, he had concluded an alliance with Charles, Emperor of Germany, against France; and in preparation for war certain ships were fitted out to attack the French upon the seas. John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, was appointed lord high admiral, and one of those who held command under him was Sir Rhys Mansel, with the rank of vice-admiral.

This appointment to a sea command appears on the surface to be somewhat futile, and even absurd, in the case of Sir Rhys, for there is not any evidence that he had in previous years received much nautical training. He may possibly have taken some part in those naval incidents in which Sir Matthew Cradock was concerned, thirty

years previously, but certainly his fighting experience had been chiefly on land.

It does not necessarily follow, however, that any great seamanlike knowledge or experience was essential for such a command. The seamanship and navigation of the ships in those days was in the hands of specially qualified men, who were distinct from the fighting contingent; these were actually soldiers, and Sir Rhys Mansel would figure more as a military commander afloat than as a seaman; he would, of course, control the organisation and destination of the vessels under his command, and direct the order of battle, etc.

The first mention of Mansel in his new capacity occurs in a letter from Lisle to the Council, June 14, 1543: "This 14 June I received your letters dated St. Onsey's, 13 June, and repaired to my lords of the Council, with Wm. Gonson, to declare the state of the four ships now preparing, which if the captains named in your letters be ready (which I doubt), we will deliver to them victualled and manned for one month. Sir Ris Maunsfeld, named to be vice-admiral, and John Care, Baldwin Willoughbye and my fellow, Jennyns, captains, are yet scantly warned. Maunsfeld is here (*i.e.*, in London) and shall know the King's pleasure before I sleep, but I hear nothing of the others . . . the King's instructions to Sir Rice Mansfeld as vice-admiral should be devised by you and signed by the King, and I will give the best advice I can, but have more need to be instructed, in such like case, by some of them than they by me." [1]

Not a very promising attitude for a lord high admiral!

On the following day Lisle again requests instructions for Sir Rhys, "whom the King now sends with ten of his ships, as vice-admiral." [2]

Mansel's instructions are contained in another letter, but unfortunately the membrane is mutilated, and only a portion of the document remains: "and officers of the same ports, not only to

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xviii., pt. i., p. 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 405.

keep the said prizes surely, but also to see the goods safely kept to his Majesty's use, and to give notice of receipt of any such prize to the High Admiral of England. And the King's pleasure is that the said Sir Rice shall not take any ship of Scotland, Portugall, Spayn, or Flanders, or any of the Emperor's subjects unless they have hurt the King's subjects, or would convey men, victuals or munitions into France. Nor shall he meddle with Danskers or ships of Estland unless equipped for war; but shall search ships of the King of Denmark for news and letters, and, in case of suspicion, detain them. Foreseeing ever that there be no spoil of the goods of any ship, Frenchman, Brytayn or other, he shall take, nor in any wise that he use those which be not Frenchmen or Brytayns . . . till he shall know further of his Majesty's pleasure; having regard to the bestowing of the men so as always to be master of them." [1]

Lisle, writing to Parr, June 20, states that "Sir Rice Mansfeld is gone to the seas with ten ships." [2]

On July 9 Sir Rhys reports to the lord high admiral that his squadron has been in action: "On Friday, 6 July, 'lying in the bottom of the see, we discreved xvj sailles, wherupon we consulted that nyght to lie in their wey with smale sailles, and in the breke of the daie we were within ij leigges of the French fleit.' Describes how they joined with them and beat them with artillery, to which they replied 'very freshly,' and after three hours' fighting, 'tried out the Saker of Depe, who bare their flag,' which they chased and, with the 'Premroys,' made three attempts to board. She finally escaped sore beaten, and Sir Rhys returned to his squadron, which had been in chase of other ships. The French ships are good sailers. The gale has cast a hoy bark with 120 men far a-lee. All his (Mansel's) small shot is consumed and the gunners are such that few of them can do any good; 'and besides that, for lack of cognisance, one of

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xviii., pt. i., p. 405.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 418. Sir William Parr, K.G., brother to Catherine Parr, who a month later became Henry's sixth wife. Parr was created Earl of Essex in December, 1543, and Marquis of Northampton in 1547.

our men killeth another, to the great discomfort of men to enter.' "[1]

A sorry state of affairs; perhaps it is not to be wondered at that Sir Rhys did not score more heavily off the French, with such untrained gunners.

On receipt of Mansel's report, Lisle writes to the king, on July 11, from Greenwich:

"Sir Rice Mawnsfelde and his company have met with the French fleet and had a great fight, as his letter of the 9th, sent herewith, shows. They were so few and the enemies 'kept so good order, that they could never get vantage.' The Sacre of Deipe was twice laid aboard with the Minion and once with the Primrose, but escaped, as did the rest; but the Lesser Galy took a hoy bark[2] with 120 men in her. Their passage homeward is stopped, so that they 'must once again light in their laps or else draw northwards again to Scotland.' Your other ships of the narrow seas were not come to Sir Rice, although they had had two letters for that purpose. Has written to Sir Rice to send the captain and one or two others of the hoy bark to the King; and marvels that 'they have so omitted.' "[3]

This was not a very decisive affair; Sir Rhys apparently drove off the French fleet, which, it may be inferred from Lisle's letter, was of superior force, and captured one small vessel with 120 men on board; but he was prevented from pursuing the enemy by reason of the non-arrival of reinforcements, and was not aware what direction the French ships had taken. All he could do was to cruise where he

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xviii., pt. i., p. 476.

[2] "Hoy bark"—a small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, *i.e.*, with one mast and probably a square sail to supplement the usual "cutter's" sails. The term "hoy" was customarily applied to a vessel carrying passengers and goods along the coast, and Admiral Smyth, in his "Sailors' Word Book," gives a quaint derivation of the name: "Hoy!" being a common hail to draw attention, and these vessels usually keeping so close inshore that they could be so hailed by intending passengers, the homely interjection ultimately became the designation of the craft. The vessel captured by Rhys Mansel was probably one of this class, adapted for some kind of service with the fleet. The term "hoy" was until recently applied to sundry small sailing-vessels which attended our war-ships, bringing provisions, munitions, etc.—as "powder-hoy," "provision-hoy," and so forth.

[3] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xviii., pt. i., p. 481.

could intercept them if they attempted to return to their base, so that they would again "light in the laps" of the English.

There is no mention, however, in the State papers of any further action between Mansel and the French.[1]

Meanwhile, intrigue was rampant in Scotland; religion, patriotism, jealousy, resentment at the capture of some trading vessels by Henry's officers, all these motives bore a part in promoting the most intense bitterness. It would be tedious to enter upon the details of this conflict of forces and emotions;[2] it culminated in the despatch of a fleet and army against Scotland in 1544, the sea command being given to Lord Lisle, while the army was under the Earl of Hertford.

Sir Rhys Mansel's movements from July, 1543, when he engaged the French fleet, to the end of the year, are not clearly indicated. In February, 1544, however, he appears to have been in London, for there is a bill for the cost of sending 100 men to him there, from Wales, "120 miles at ½d., and coats for them at 4s., £45."[3]

This is dated February 27, and in a letter from Hertford to the Council, dated at Newcastle, March 30, appears the following: "Lord William (Howard) and Lord Cobham told me that, with the lord Admiral and others, in all 10 sail, they left Harwich on Tuesday

[1] Henry VIII. displayed considerable zeal in adding to his Navy, more especially in the early years of his reign. Up to the year 1525 he had built, bought, or acquired by capture nearly fifty vessels, of various sizes. At the time of this war with France, which lasted from 1543 to 1546, he appears, however, to have reckoned his fleet inadequate, and to have encouraged the assistance of vessels armed and equipped by private enterprise, and supplied with commissions or warrants authorising them to "annoy the king's enemies"—in other words, privateers, though this term was not invented until the middle of the seventeenth century. This practice had been inaugurated by Henry III., as far back as 1243; and in 1543 and the following years there was an increasing recognition of the value of such vessels, both to the Crown and the owners. King Henry was very keenly alive to the importance of these auxiliaries, and in the year 1544 he addressed a remonstrance to the mayors and burgesses of Newcastle, Scarborough, and Hull for their remissness in this respect, pointing out what had been done elsewhere, more especially in the west parts, "where there are twelve or sixteen ships of war abroad, who have gotten among not so little as £10,000," adding: "It were over-burdensome that the King should set ships to defend all parts of the realm, and keep the narrow seas withal."—See "Privateers and Privateering," by Com. E. P. Statham, pp. 8, 9, 10.

[2] There is an excellent and authentic account of these occurrences in Tytler's "History of Scotland," vol. ii., 1542, and the following years.

[3] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. i. p. 71.

last and kept together until Wednesday at noon when they lost one another in the mist. Those here, before entering the haven (Tynemouth), searched for the lord Admiral during Thursday, Friday and Saturday, but could not hear of him. With him were lord Clynton in the Swallowe, Sir Nic. Poyntz in the Gret Gallye, Sir Rice Maunsell in a hulk and Wyndham in a ship of the West Country." [1]

Here we find Sir Rhys groping about in a fog off Tynemouth. A "hulk," according to all nautical authorities, is an old or useless vessel relegated to harbour duties, as a store or *depôt* ship, so it is not apparent what part such a craft was to play in the fleet; perhaps the term may have been misused by Hertford. The ships had sailed from Harwich on the previous Tuesday, March 25.

Meanwhile, in another State paper of about the same date, "The Army Against France," Sir Rhys Mansel's name appears among other worthies of county Glamorgan, who are bound to provide contingents for the army aforesaid; and again, in the enumeration of the "Vantgard" (vanguard) of the army, we find: "From the sea with Sir Rice Manxell, 100." [2]

The assembling of the ships at Tynemouth was obviously in connection with the expedition against Scotland; and on April 28, under this heading, is the following: "Names of the watters [3] appointed. . . . Herwodde's bark of Cailayes attending the Parncye" (Mansel's ship, as will hereafter appear). . . . "An order for the army, with the names of 'officers to be appointed,' *viz.*, Chieftain of the vawarde (my lord Admiral), Chieftain of the rearward (the Earl of Shrousbery), treasurer of the wars (Sir Ralph Sadelar), Knight Marshal (Sir Rice Mansfild) . . . order for the landing of 12,000 at two places, 'at one instant, as near as they can togethers.'" [4]

Mansel thus has duties assigned to him both afloat and on

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. i., p. 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 159.

[3] "Wafter" probably means a signalling ship, to pass on orders or information.

[4] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. i., p. 267. The "knight marshal" was responsible for the selection of suitable camping ground for the army, and the organisation and maintenance of order in the camp.

shore. The fighting men on board his ship were soldiers, not sailors; of the latter a sufficient number remained to work the ship.

The English fleet entered the Firth of Forth on May 1; and it cannot be doubted that, in the operations immediately following, against Leith and Edinburgh, Sir Rhys Mansel bore his part, though his name is not mentioned in connection therewith. He held the appointment known in modern parlance as quartermaster-general, and would have very onerous and important duties when the troops were being landed and moved about.

He did not, however, remain with Hertford until the latter had completed his operations, for in June, or early in July, he was once more embarked as a sea commander, to take part in an expedition in the west of Scotland, as will presently be related.

On the death of James V., in 1542, the Regent Arran had thoroughly repaired the Castle, and appointed Governor Sir James Hamilton of Stanehouse, a gallant soldier, who proved worthy of the trust reposed in him.

The Earl of Hertford had orders, so characteristic of a ferocious despot, "to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh, raze, deface, and sack it; to beat down and overthrow the Castle; to sack Holyrood and as many towns and villages as he could; to sack Leith, burn, and subvert it, and all the rest; putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception."

He suddenly landed with 10,000 men near an old fortalice, called the Castle of Wardie, on the beach that bordered a desolate moor of the same name, and seized Leith and Newhaven. Cardinal Beaton and the Regent Arran lay in the vicinity with an army. The former proposed battle, but the latter, an irresolute man, declined, and retired in the night towards Linlithgow with his hastily-levied troops.

Lord Evans, with 4,000 horse, had now joined the English from Berwick, and Hertford arrogantly demanded the instant surrender of the infant queen; and being informed that the nation would perish to a man rather than submit to terms so ignominious, he advanced against Edinburgh, from whence came the provost, Sir Adam Otterburn, to make terms, if possible; but Hertford would

have nothing save an unconditional surrender of life and property, together with the little queen, then at Stirling.

"Then," said the provost, "'twere better that the city should stand on its defence." He galloped back to put himself at the head of the citizens, who were in arms under the Blue Blanket. The English, after being repulsed with loss at the Leith Wynd Port, entered by the West Gate, advanced upon the Canongate to the Nether Bow Port, which they blew open by dint of artillery, and a terrible slaughter of the citizens ensued. All resisted manfully. Among others was one named David Halkerston of Halkerston, who defended the Wynd that for 300 years bore his name, and perished there, sword in hand. Spreading through the city like a flood, the English fired it in eight places, and as the High Street was then encumbered with heavy fronts of ornamented timber that erst had grown in the forest of Drumsheugh, the smoke of the blazing mansions actually drove the invaders out to ravage the adjacent country, prior to which they met with a terrible repulse in an attempt to attack the Castle. Four days Hertford toiled before it, till he had 500 men killed, an incredible number wounded, and some of his guns dismounted by the fire of the garrison. Led by Stanehouse, the Scots made a sortie, scoured the Castle hill, and carried off Hertford's guns, among which were some that they had lost at Flodden. The English then retreated, leaving Edinburgh nearly a mass of blackened ruin, and the whole country burned and wasted for seven miles round it.

When, three years later, the same unscrupulous leader, as Duke of Somerset, won that disastrous battle at Pinkie—a field that made 360 women of Edinburgh widows, and where the united shout raised by the victors as they came storming over Edmonston Edge was long remembered—Stanehouse was again summoned to surrender; but though menaced by 26,000 of the English, he maintained his charge till the retreat of Somerset.

Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, had so far endeavoured to further the schemes of the astute Cardinal Beaton, who was ready enough to make use of his services in securing the adhesion of the Earl of Arran. This end gained, however, the cardinal, with an unwariness which was not in keeping with his usual conduct of

affairs, gave Lennox a touch of the cold shoulder, upon which the latter, who was addicted to regulating his conduct entirely by considerations of self-interest, determined to throw in his lot with the English king; and he inaugurated his defection, before his former friends had time to realise it, by a very smart piece of—well, "conveyance." He had been entrusted with the negotiations with France, and, in accordance with his advice, a French ambassador, the Sieur de la Brosse, had been despatched to Scotland, accompanied by a small fleet bearing military stores, fifty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand crowns, to be distributed among the friends of the cardinal. Lennox undertook the "distribution" of the coin. The Frenchmen anchored off Dumbarton, which was entirely in the earl's power; he went on board the ambassador's ship, was there received as in his former capacity of intermediary, obtained the gold, and deposited it safely in Dumbarton Castle.[1]

Henry was delighted at having secured the co-operation of Lennox, and in due course an expedition was organised, under his direction, to harry the Scots in the west.

Apparently Sir Rhys Mansel was sent round by sea to take part in this affair. The squadron of ships was under the command of John Wynter, Esquire, to whom the following memorial was addressed by the Council: "(1) To see the navy ready and furnished at Holyhead, Beaumaris or Chester to receive Lennox and his train. (2) To pay, according to the book delivered him, such as be in the castles for five months beforehand, 'if God send them thither in such time as the proportion appointed will serve for the same'; and those in the ships, which must be at Lennox's command, to be paid monthly. (3) To see that the King is not overcharged, and suffer Sir Rise Maunswell and Rich' Broke, when at Bute, to take musters of his men, and likewise Sir Peter Mewtas and Thos. Awdley at Dumbreton (Dumbarton); and Wynter and the captains with him shall likewise muster the soldiers of Mauxwell and Mewtas. (4) When Lennox and Sir Peter Meawtys shall go before to Dum-

[1] Tytler's "History of Scotland." Vol. iii. p. 227. "Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland" (Bannatyne Club), p. 30. "The Erle of Lennox suld haue delyuerit the money come out of France, and the castle of Dunbartane, qaha staw away, and wold not give na pledge nor na uther thing." The "crown," value 5/-, was coined only in gold in the reign of Henry VIII.

barton, leaving Kilmawres and Wynter at Bute, they shall take victuals for Dumbarton Castle. (5) Wynter shall advertise the King how things proceed both in his charge and in that of Meotes and Maunswell."

"A memorial for Sir Rice Mauncel and Richard Broke, appointed to repair to th' isle of Bute in Scotland and to remain with a certain number of men within the same. Taking the ordinances and statutes prepared for their instruction, they shall, with all diligence, pass by sea to Bute, where, by the advice of the Earl of Lennox and lord Kilmars, they shall endeavour to take into the King's hands the Castle of Rosse (Rothesay) and fortify it with the advice of —— Petit, who is sent thither as surveyor, and foresee always that the castle is furnished with victuals. And when either Sir Peter Mewtas or Thomas Awdeley repairs to the said castle he shall take musters of the men of the said Mauncel and Broke."[1]

A similar memorial governs the proceedings of Sir Peter Mewtys and Thomas Audley with regard to the seizure of Dumbarton Castle; Sir Rhys Mansel or John Wynter being directed, when they visit Dumbarton Castle, to take musters of the men there.

Rothesay Castle was captured, with little difficulty, by Sir Rhys Mansel and Richard Broke; and Lennox, accompanied by Sir Peter Mewtys and Thomas Audley, proceeded, in accordance with the prearranged programme, to Dumbarton Castle, which was the property of Lennox, who had left Stirling of Glorat, one of his retainers, in command.

Lennox imagined that he would experience no opposition here, but that the castle would, at his command, be quietly handed over to the representatives of the English king. He quickly discovered, however, that he had reckoned without his host. Stirling received and recognised Lennox as his master, but when he was informed of the purpose of this visit, the staunch Scotsman, placing his allegiance to his own sovereign before all else, loudly and indignantly protested. The garrison, taking their cue from Stirling, rose in arms, and Lennox and his English friends were glad to make good their retreat to their ships.[2]

[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. i., pp. 508-9.

[2] Tytler's "History of Scotland." Vol. ii., p. 234. Stirling was subsequently induced, by a bribe, to surrender the Castle to the Earl of Arran, regent and governor, and Lennox's enemy; it was thus finally prevented from falling into King Henry's hands.

The Isle of Arran was laid waste, and Bute was held, as the result of this expedition; there is not much information as to other proceedings or incidents attaching to the tenure of Rothesay Castle by Mansel and Wynter. No doubt they did their duty, as required by their sovereign; but this Scottish expedition, whether on the east or west coast, was nothing better than a ghastly and futile outrage, born and fostered in religious intolerance, international spite and misunderstanding, personal intrigue; and finally matured by the rage of the tyrannical English monarch, who could brook no opposition to his schemes and desires.

No good was effected, either to England or Scotland; while, on the other hand, immense suffering and misery was inflicted upon unoffending persons.[1]

In September, 1544, continental events created a diversion from these Scottish amenities. On September 23 the Council with the king at Boulogne writes to the Council with the queen in England (Henry having appointed his last new wife, Catherine Parr, regent and governor during his absence in France), that "the Emperor (of Germany) and the French King are agreed, and the Emperor's army dispersed." Henry's ally had deserted him, concluding a separate peace, and in consequence some drastic changes were necessitated in the disposition of the English forces on shore and afloat.

In this letter the home Council is directed to "send to Wynter . . . commanding him, with Sir Rice Maunsel and a Sir Peter Mewtas, this bearer, and also the rest of th' army that was sent into Scotland, and such other ships as did accompany them of their own charges, to repair hither (to Boulogne), with as much celerity as the wind will suffer."[2]

This order, however, was cancelled, and three days later the

[1] In Hayne's State Papers (pp. 43-45) there appears a document tersely styled, "Exployts don upon the Scotts from the beginning of July, Anno 36, R. R. Henrici 8th." These "exployts" include the burning of 192 towns, small villages, etc.; and plunder to the extent of 10,386 head of cattle, 12,492 sheep, and 1,476 horses and foals; no mention is made of the crops destroyed, but, from the season—July to November—there must have been large [illegible] in this respect; while the paltry number of persons captured or slain testifies to the almost entire absence of resistance.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. ii., p. 147

following was substituted: "You shall signify to Sir Rice Mauncell, Thomas Audeley and Winter, that the two former, each with his 200, shall repair to their homes, and Winter, after safe conducting them, spend out his victuals in attending the return of the French ships from the New Lande (Newfoundland) and otherwise annoy his Majesty's enemies." [1]

Mansel and Wynter appear, however, to have acted prematurely; for another letter, dated September 30, from the queen and Council to Paget (secretary of state), expresses surprise that they should have landed at Bristol, and discharged a great part of their men before the receipt of the king's orders of the 26th. If his men are indeed discharged, Wynter is to bring his accounts to Westminster; otherwise, he is to carry out the orders already issued.[2]

Mansel's movements are not indicated immediately afterwards, but near the end of October, in a list of ships of the navy, there appear the *Pauncye*, of 400 tons and 340 men, Sir Rice Mancel, and the *Mary of Hamburgh*, 350 tons and 240 men, John Wynter—Sir Rhys being apparently entered as captain of the *Pauncye*, without admiral's rank.[3]

At the end of October, 1544, Sir Thomas Seymour (afterwards Lord Seymour of Sudeley) was appointed, as vice-admiral, to take command of a fleet for the conveyance of a quantity of stores to Boulogne, which had been taken in September; and afterwards to send his small vessels into Estaples to take or burn such of the enemies' ships as were there. Seymour, however, submitted that an attack on the coast of Brittany would be more feasible and profitable, and obtained permission to carry out this suggestion.

All his plans were, however, upset by a furious gale, which drove his fleet out of Dover and scattered his ships. The king, not hearing anything of Seymour's movements, wrote him an angry remonstrance, to which the vice-admiral replied on November 13.

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[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix. pt. ii., p. 159. There was a considerable trade in salt fish from Newfoundland, chiefly with England: but the French also had ships thus employed.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

This letter, explaining the causes of delay, and deprecating the accusation of negligence, gives a graphic account of the fury of the gale and the consequent casualties. A transport was lost, with 259 out of 300 on board: "Sir Ryse Mansenell, Mr. Carow, Mr. Wendam, and divers other was driven to go within three fathom along by the French shore for their surety"; several ships are reported missing, and so forth.

Seymour begs the Council to blame the weather and exonerate him and his captains; and in order to substantiate his report, and give it full weight and credit, he asks several of the principal captains to sign it, Sir Rhys Mansel among them; he signs "R. Manxell," with the light-hearted disregard of orthography which is characteristic of the times.[1]

Mansel appears to have returned to Wales before the following summer; what further part he took in the naval operations does not appear in the State papers.

On July 4, 1545, there is a joint letter from Rhys Mansel, George Herbert, Thomas Stradling, George Mathew, and Edward Lewis to John Russell, dated from Cardiff: "On 1 July received the King's letters commanding them to assemble the able men of Glamorgan and be ready to attend his lordship. Upon the King's letters from Boulogne musters were taken which showed the number of able men of the shire to be 2,000, and the harness only 300 pair, for the county was then greatly charged with harness into France and Scotland. Now there will be as many men and 200 more pairs of harness, furnished by gentlemen who were then forth in the King's service, and they ask what number of unarmed men to send if need be, that they may provide money and victuals for conveyance of the men to 'the sea coast of Sevarn.'"[2]

In February, 1546, Sir Rhys Mansel was entrusted with some

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[1] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xix., pt. ii., pp. 360-361. "The Royal Navy," by Laird Clowes. Vol. i., p. 460.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xx., pt. i., p. 543. John Russel, Baron Chenies, afterwards first Earl of Bedford; he had commanded the vanguard in France, and was at this time employed in strengthening the sea-coast and towns in the South of England.—(Dict. Nat. Biog.)

new responsibilities in Wales, in connection with the survey of chantries.[1]

This commission, which included a number of persons in each county, was the outcome of some misgiving in the mind of Henry VIII., in that he had not made the most of his opportunities. At the dissolution of the monasteries, ten years previously, he had appropriated, either to public uses, or "in the king's wardrobe," immense funds; but now he bethought him of the numerous chantries, etc., more or less richly endowed, which were scattered about the country; and accordingly the Commons obediently passed an Act by which "the King is empowered to take into his hands, at pleasure, all chantries, hospitals, colleges, free chapels, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and salaries of stipendiary priests 'having perpetuity,' and all their possessions, and he wishes to act therein to the glory of Almighty God and the wealth of the realm."

The duties of the commissioners, as laid down in this grant, concerned the chantries only, and the directions for their guidance are exceedingly minute and explicit. Sir Rhys Mansel was one of a number of commissioners in Wales, and his jurisdiction embraced practically the whole of the counties of the principality.[2]

This appointment, together with the acquisition of abbey lands already recorded, conclusively establishes the fact of Mansel's acceptance of the "new learning" in Church matters; and there can be no doubt that he was hereby committed to the adoption of the further developments of the reign of Edward VI. Whether King Henry's proceedings in the matter of the chantries were "to the glory of Almighty God" is a question concerning which there is probably considerable divergence of opinion.

Meanwhile, Rhys Mansel's time, when not employed upon military or naval service, was probably not spent entirely in Wales.

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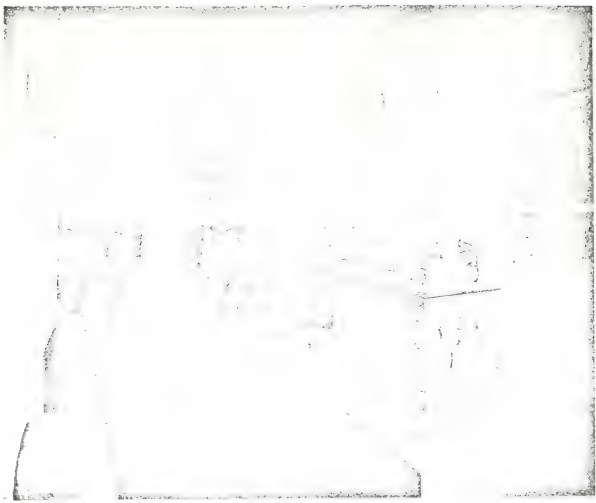
[1] A chantry was a small chapel, usually built out from a church, with independent access from outside, endowed for the express purpose of maintaining a priest for the chanting or saying of masses for the soul of the donor, or of someone named by him. The name is derived from the French *chanter*, to sing. The chantry often contained the tomb of the founder, and the endowment usually provided for the appointment of a special priest, independent of the parochial clergy.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. xxi., pt. i., p. 146.



THE TOMBS OF SIR RHYS MANSEL, SIR EDWARD MANSEL, SIR THOMAS MANSEL, SIR LEWIS MANSEL, IN THE MANSEL CHAPEL, MARGAM ABBEY, GLAMORGANSHIRE (*to p.*

He was possessed, certainly at the time of his death, of a mansion at Clerkenwell; whether he purchased this residence, or inherited it from his father, Jenkin Mansel, is not clear.

Clerkenwell was at that period a mere outlying village, practically in the country, and dominated by the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem and the Nunnery of St. Mary, situated upon opposite sides of what is now known as Clerkenwell Green. The few residences which then existed in the locality were clustered about these monastic buildings, and here must therefore have stood Rhys Mansel's mansion.[1]

No mention of his name is to be found, either in histories of London in general, or of Clerkenwell in particular, as possessing property there; he may have acquired it about the time of his third marriage, when a residence in London would be almost a necessity, his wife being a lady at court.

Sir Rhys Mansel's first marriage, in the year 1511, has already been mentioned; by this he had no issue, and he married secondly, probably in 1520, Anne, daughter of Sir Giles Brydges (or Bruges, Brugges, the name is variously spelt) of Coberley in Gloucestershire.

The manor of Coberley had been held by the Berkeleys from the period of the Conquest, or soon after, until the death of Thomas Berkeley, when, by the marriage of his daughter and heir with Sir Thomas Brydges, it passed to the family of the latter.

This was not the first connection of the Maunsells with the manor of Coberley; one of them had married a Berkeley, before the estate passed to the family of Brydges. This Thomas Berkeley, the last owner of Coberley in his family, was in fact the son of Joanna Maunsell, the daughter of William Maunsell, of Lypiate, Gloucester. This is apparent from the pedigree given in the chapter on the Gloucester Maunsells,[2] but the connection is made more clear by the following:[3]

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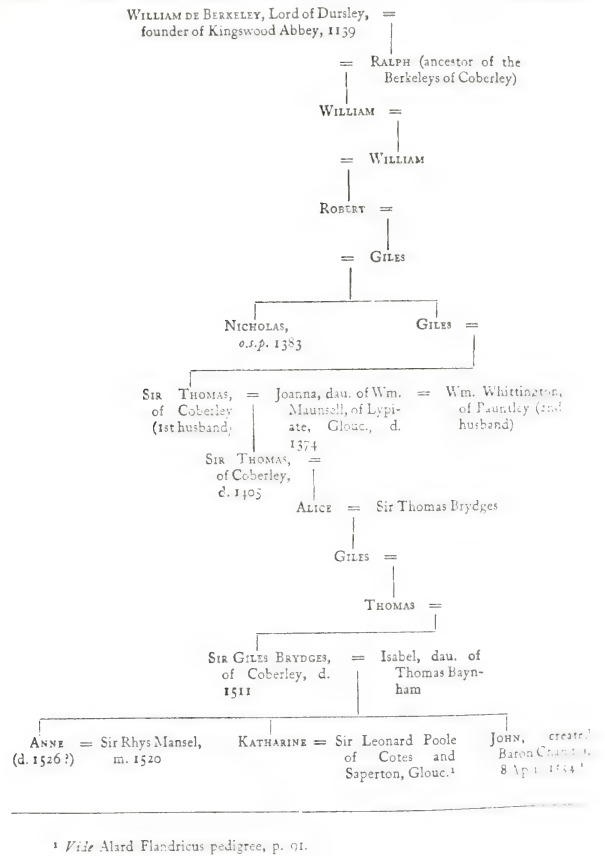
[1] "The History of Clerkenwell," by W. J. Spinks. "History and Description of the Parish of Clerkenwell," by Thos. K. Cromwell.

[2] See *ante*, p. 92.

[3] "Abstracts and Extracts from the Berkeley MSS.," by T. D. Fosbroke; p. 80.



[1] *Vide* Alard Flandricus pedigree, p. 91.

[2] "Complete Peerage." Vol. iii., p. 126.

The Mansels are here shown to be connected by marriage with the Pooles, described in Sir Thomas Phillipps' addenda to Bigland's "Gloucestershire," as first "of Cheshire." Richard Poole, father of Sir Leonard, bought Saperton, which at one period was held by a Maunsell. Sir Giles Poole, son of Sir Leonard, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thos. Whittington of Pauntley, who was also descended from Joanna Maunsell, by her second marriage.

Sir Rhys Mansel's marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir Giles Brydges, is alleged by R. G. Maunsell to have taken place in the year 1520.[1] There is no deed or settlement having reference to it among the Penrice and Margam manuscripts. In a pedigree of Brydges (Visitations of Gloucester, 1583 and 1623), the marriage is recorded, "Anne, uxor Ressii Maunsel,"[2] but no date is given; one does not look for any such precision in Heralds' Visitations.

There appears, however, to be some ground for questioning the year given above, or at least for casting some doubt upon R. G. Maunsell's further statement that Sir Rhys had by this marriage three sons and two daughters. Mansel's third marriage is incontestably fixed by documents in June of the year 1527; here is a remarkably short period in which to marry, beget five children, become a widower, and marry again; it is not, of course, by any means impossible, but it is certainly extremely improbable.

Mr. W. W. Mansell confines himself to the statement that Anne Brydges married Sir Rhys Mansel "after the death of her father, who died in 1511"; which, it somewhat vague, appears on the face of it to be a safer hypothesis than the other. This writer gives Sir Rhys, by this marriage, one son, Philip, and two daughters; he is not, however, a reliable authority. This Philip is the issue, according to Mr. R. G. Maunsell, of the third marriage, and was married to Mary Dorell (or Darrell), who afterwards married Henry Fortescue. As to this marriage, the two writers are agreed—neither gives any authority for the marriage of Sir Rhys with Anne Brydges.

If, however, Sir Rhys had three instead of five children by

[1] See p. 22.

[2] Harley MSS., 1041.

his second marriage, the improbability of its having taken place in the year 1520 is removed. With regard to his son Philip there will be something to be said later.

Sir Rhys had, by his second marriage, two daughters, Catherine and Elizabeth.

Catherine married William Bassett, junior, of Beaupre; and thereupon the Beaupre estate, which had passed to Sir Rhys on his marriage with Eleanor Bassett in 1511, was by him conveyed and restored to the Bassetts. Catherine Mansel's husband was grand-nephew to Eleanor Bassett.

Elizabeth Mansel was married to William Morgan, of Carlyon (or Caerleon), county Monmouth, between January 10 and February 2 1549, as is testified by the deed of settlement.[1]

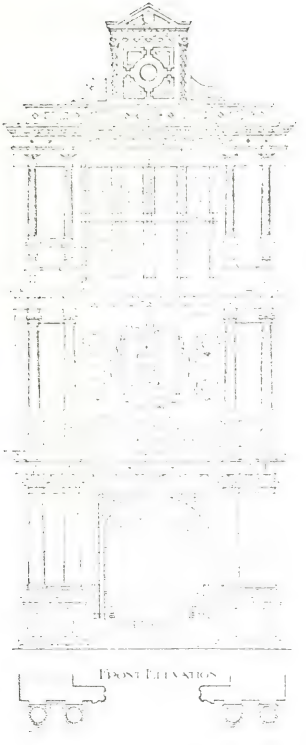
There is a curious episode recorded, having reference to William Bassett and William Morgan, which, though it pertains legitimately to a later period, may be fittingly brought in here.

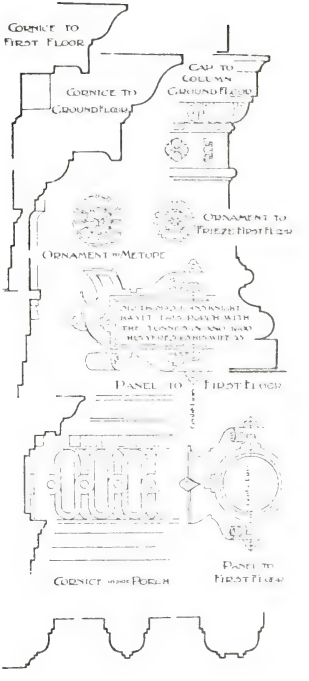
Among the manuscripts at Margam Abbey there is one which reads as follows:

"The aunswer to the poinctes produced by Bassett and Morgan, to prove an estate of the Manoures of Oxwich, etc., executed to the use of their wiffes."

Opinion respecting the forgery of a deed by Sir Rhys Mansel, therein falsely called Richard, and sealed with a seal not corresponding to his genuine seal, put forward by one Bowier (Bowyer ?), who refused to be sworn in court. Herein is shown that Sir Rhys Mansel was christened by "a Wealsh man who was acquainted with the name of Rhys, and such a Wealsh man as was not ashamed of the same name, but bare it himself, *viz.*, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who christened the said Sir Rhys Mansel at the ffonte." . . . "The forging of the deade shall further appear in that therein William Bassett and Thomas David ap Howell as ffeoffes to the use of Sir Rhys Mansel are supposed to joyne with him in ffeofynge Sir John Bridges, etc., in the Manoures of Oxwich, etc., where it is to be proved that other persons and not the said William Bassett and Thomas David ap Howell stode

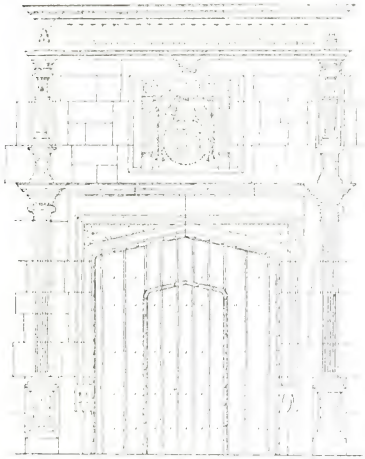
[1] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan," by G. T. Clark. Vol. v., p. 1987.





ENTRANCE PORCH, OLD BEAUPRÉ

Details of Old Beaupre
Glamorganshire



Elevation of Front Entrance

Panels to Porch

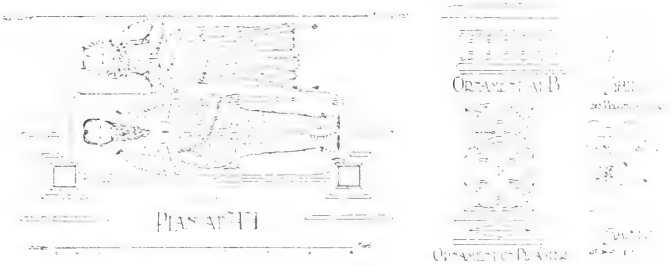
Elevation of Fireplace

DETAILS OF ENTRANCE PORCH, OLD BEAUPRE

THE BASSET AND MANSEL TOMB, LLANTRITHYD CHURCH, GLAMORGAN.

(Drawn by H. Eaton A.R.I.B.A. 1912.)

DETAILS OF MOULDINGS, CARTOUCHE, AND SHIELDS



THE BASSET AND MANSEL TOMB, LLANTRITHYD CHURCH, GLAMORGAN.

Drawn by W. Eaton, A.R.I.B.A., 1912.

seased of the said Manour of Oxwich to the use of the said Rhys Mansel." . . . "Mr. Bassett confessed the cause why Bowier used this vylanie was in revenge that Mansel woulde not put of his cappe to him," etc.[1]

This was evidently a rascally business; the unscrupulous Bowier endeavoured to induce Bassett and Morgan to join in a scheme for the discomfiture of Sir Rhys or his heirs, but he had not the effrontery to support his assertions upon oath, and so refused to be sworn.

The statement that Rhys Mansel was "christened at the font" by Sir Rhys ap Thomas cannot be accepted literally; Mansel was, no doubt, baptised by a priest, according to invariable custom; probably Rhys ap Thomas was his godfather, and was present at his baptism.

Sir Rhys Mansel married, thirdly, Cecilia, daughter of John Dabridgecourt, of Solihull, county Warwick, whose sister, Anne, was married to his brother, Philip Mansel of Llandewy.

Dabridgecourt (spelt also d'Aubridgecourt, and originally d'Abrichecourt) was an ancient and important family of France; the first member of it who finds a place in English affairs is Nicholas d'Abrichecourt, lord of the castle of that name, near Bouchain.[2]

This Nicholas was knighted by King Edward III. for his courtesy to his mother, Queen Isabel, in France, a year or two previously; his son, Sir Sanchet d'Abrichecourt, was among the first twenty-five knights of the Garter, who are styled "Founders" of the Order.[3]

The pedigree of the Dabridgecourts is here given: it is summarised from a very complete and fully authenticated pedigree in Nicholl's "Topographer and Genealogist" (vol. i., p. 197 *et seq.*).

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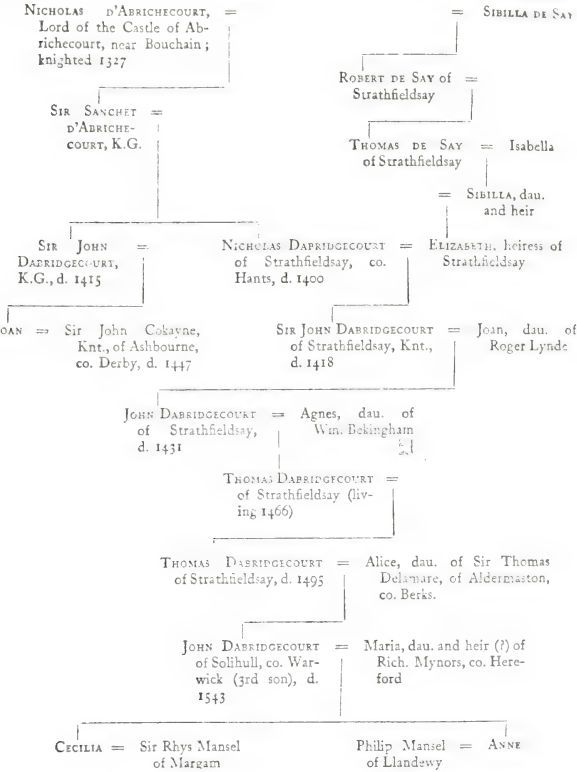
[1] "Descriptive Catalogue of the Penrice and Margam MSS.," by W. de G. Birch. Dr. Birch labels this document "late 16th or early 17th cent.," but as it appears that Bowier's spite was the outcome of Sir Rhys's refusal to return his salutation, it could scarcely have been as late as early seventeenth century, Sir Rhys having died in 1559. The incident probably occurred after his death, however.

[2] Bouchain, now a small town in the Departement du Nord, was at that time the capital of the county of Ostreven, or Ostervan, a dependant of Hainault.

[3] "Memorials of the Order of the Garter," by G. F. Beltz; p. 7.



The pedigree of de Say is given, to show how Strathfieldsay came to the Dabridgecourts, by the marriage of Nicholas Dabridgecourt with Elizabeth, the heiress of Strathfieldsay: this estate was alienated in 1629 by George Dabridgecourt, who sold it to Edward

SIR JOHN AND LADY COKAYNE
OVER DABRIDGECOURT, 1447

By permission of Robert Cokayne, Esq.,
Exeter House, Roehampton.

Pitt, son and heir of Sir William Pitt. ("Victoria County History.")

John Dabridgecourt, Rhys Mansel's father-in-law, was not, however, of Strathfieldsay, which went to his eldest brother, Thomas.

He is named in the pedigree as of Solihull, county Warwick, which is in the hundred of Hemlingford; in the marriage settlement he is placed as of Wolston, which is in the neighbouring hundred of Knightlow. There is, however, a monument in Solihull church to his son Thomas (by his second marriage), and Alice, wife of Thomas, who died respectively in 1601 and 1599;[1] hence perhaps an error.

It may be noted that, in "County Genealogies: County of Hants," one of a series by William Berry, of the College of Arms (where he was registering clerk for fifteen years), on p. 70 there is a genealogy of Dabridgecourt, introducing the De la More (or De la Mare) connection by marriage, and showing the pedigree of the latter family. William Berry tells us, very ingenuously, in his preface, that these genealogies are taken almost entirely from Heralds' Visitations, in the Harley MSS. in the British Museum, pointing out that these heralds were very slovenly in their methods, and addicted to the entire omission of dates, and so forth—which is no news to us. This pedigree differs in some points from that of Nichols, which is here transcribed, and is absolutely destitute of authentication, so it may be disregarded. Berry alludes to an alleged marriage of one Robert De la More with a Maunsell, and adds "see Hereford"; but his book on Hereford was apparently never published. Berry brought an action against the publishers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1830, in consequence of a severe "slating" of his "Genealogies of Kent," and other comments, but the verdict went against him.

John Gough Nichols, on the other hand, was an accomplished and scrupulous antiquarian, of whom the President of the Society of Antiquaries remarked that his death caused "a void which it is no exaggeration to call irreparable as regards the particular line of

[1] "Antiquities of Warwickshire," by Dugdale. Vol. ii., p. 945.

inquiry to which he devoted himself." (See Dict. Nat. Biog. under both names.)

The marriage settlement is dated June 19, 1527, and the marriage was to take place before the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24).[1]

Cecilia Dabridgecourt had been, for at least two years, one of the ladies in attendance upon the Princess—afterwards Queen—Mary, her name appearing in a list of "The names of all the ladies and gentlemen who are to accompany the Princess into Wales; with the quantity of black velvet allowed to each," in the year 1525.[2]

There is evidence to show that Cecilia was in high favour with Princess Mary. In a letter to Cromwell, the king's secretary, after thanking him for his services with regard to another matter, she recommends to his "lawful favour and goodness Sir Rice Maunsell this bearer in such matters and business as he is a suitor unto you for. The said Sir Rice hath married one of my gentlewomen, whom for her long and acceptable service to me done I much esteem and honour."[3]

This letter is dated from *Otford*, or Oxford, June 27; unfortunately the year is not given, or it might have afforded some clue as to the nature of the business which Mansel had with Cromwell. He was, however, the bearer of the missive, and it may be assumed that his wife was then in attendance upon the princess at Oxford.

During Sir Rhys Mansel's absence in Ireland, in 1534, Cecilia was apparently not with Princess Mary; for, as we have seen, she wrote twice to Cromwell from Beaupre, begging that her husband might be permitted to return and look after his property in Wales. The princess, however, retained her regard for Cecilia when she became queen, for the latter, we read, attended at the queen's coronation in 1553, "dressed in crimson velvet, in a chariot and

[1] "Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan." Vol. v., p. 1836.

[2] Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. iv., pt. i., p. 711. Princess Mary was then in her tenth year; she did not actually go into Wales, but to Ludlow Castle, where she had a large household maintained for her. Ludlow is in Shropshire, about twelve miles from the nearest point on the Welsh border, in Radnorshire, and was one of the counties included in the term "Marches of Wales," signifying a county bordering upon Wales.

[3] Cotton MSS., Vesp. F. III.

horses trapped with the same";[1] and among New Year gifts bestowed by the queen, in 1556, is mentioned a gilt cup to Cecilia among other ladies.

Young as she was, Princess Mary was sent to the borders of Wales in 1525 to represent, in a certain fashion, her father the king, to hold courts of Oyer and Terminer,[2] and act as arbitrator in disputes. The king had been so long absent from Wales and the Marches that the tranquillity of that part had been greatly disturbed. Probably Mary passed her time alternately at Ludlow Castle and Ticken-hill, according as the courts were held at one or the other.

It was no doubt during this period that Sir Rhys Mansel became acquainted with Cecilia Dabridgecourt, and, being a man of local importance, he probably came in contact officially with Princess Mary and her suite and advisers.

In the years 1543 and 1544 there are entries in Princess Mary's accounts concerning Mansel and his wife.

"Item given to Master Mawnsell's servant 3s. 4d."[3]

"Item given to a servant of my lady Manxell coming to Bedington, 10s."[4]

"Given to my lady Manxell—

"Item a brooch of the Passion with a cross with a little diamond and divers small rubies.

"Item a brooch with an agate, and a pearl pendant at the same.

"Item a brooch of history of Jacob, being a slip set in mother of pearl."[5]

There is, however, but scanty information concerning Mansel's domestic life. He was constantly occupied, as we have seen, over public affairs of one kind or another; as soldier, vice-admiral, as chamberlain of Chester, justice of the peace, commissioner on

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[1] Strype's "Annals of the Reformation." Vol. iii., pt. i., p. 55.

[2] *I.e.*, "To hear and determine" cases: old Anglo-French term. The commissioners for Oyer and Terminer are practically the judges of Assize. Mary no doubt held a special commission from the king.

[3] "Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary," by Sir Frederic Madden; p. 127.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

various inquisitions held in Wales or the Marches, as surveyor in the matter of the chantries: these duties, together with the care of his estates, must have kept him busy.

No doubt he found time for social amenities; and the ladies- and gentlemen-in-waiting of those days were by no means remiss in the matter of devising the means of enjoyment; games and masques were constantly to the fore, and Cecilia Dabridgecourt, no doubt, acquired a taste for these things, and perhaps some skill in them.

On that occasion of the royal visit to Ludlow, Mary was under somewhat strict tutelage, with many laws and rules laid down for her observance, which Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, her principal governess and wise and affectionate friend, was responsible for having carried out;[1] but we are told that later on, at Greenwich, Princess Mary, though always modest and self-respecting, let herself go a little more.

Lady Mansel died September 20, 1558, two months before her friend and patroness, Queen Mary, at the house in Clerkenwell.

There is an account of her funeral in Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," as follows:

"Sept. 20, 1558, the Lady Cecilia Mansfield (*sic*) deceasing at Clerkenwell, was brought into the Black Friars at St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, with banners of Saints. The Lady Petres,[2] wife of the Queen's Secretary of State, was chief mourner, and her servants bare the lady's train, and bare torches, also in black coats. She was buried before the high altar at the head of the old Prior Bolton. The church, choir, and rails hanged with black and arms. The Friars sang the dirge after their song, and buried her after their fashion without clerks or priests, and after to the place to drink. And on the morrow three masses said, and there was a goodly sermon preached by the father of the house as ever was heard, teaching and admonishing to live well."

[1] This excellent and courageous woman was afterwards, at the age of sixty-eight, butchered at Henry's command for refusing to recognise him as head of the Church.

[2] Sir William Petre (not *Petres*) was one of the secretaries of state under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth.

There is evidence here of Queen Mary's regard for her "gentlewoman"; she was herself in almost a dying condition, but the presence of Lady Petre as "chief mourner," *i.e.*, taking precedence by virtue of representing the queen, shows that Mary, in spite of her own acute distress and suffering, did not fail to render the last honours to Lady Mansel.

The Church of St. Bartholomew at Smithfield was formerly part of a priory, which was surrendered to the commissioners of Henry VIII. in 1540; in 1545 the site was bestowed upon Sir Richard Rich. Queen Mary, however, dispossessed him, and established there a community of Black Friars, who in their turn were ousted by Elizabeth, and the property restored to Rich.[1]

Seven months later Sir Rhys Mansel died—April 10, 1559. Strype gives an account also of his funeral: "April 13, 1559, the corpse of Sir Rice Mansfield Kt. was brought from Clerkenwell into the Black Friars with the heralds and the rest of the ceremonies usual. The Friars Church was hung all in black and coats of arms. The dirge was sung both in the parish where he died and likewise where he was buried. There was also carried with him four banners of saints and many other banners. The morrow masses were said in both churches. Afterwards his Standard, Coat, Helmet, target, and sword were offered up at the altar. After all this being performed the company retired to his place to dinner. This was the common way of funerals of persons of quality in the Popish times."[2]

The inquisition post mortem upon Sir Rhys was held June 15, 1559, on a writ dated April 27. His son and heir, Edward, was then stated to be twenty-eight years of age; his son Philip, by his second marriage, died before Sir Rhys; the date of his death is not clear.

Sir Rhys Mansel is known to have made three wills; two of these, dated respectively December 20, 1553, and September 18, 1558, are given *in extenso* in Mr. G. T. Clark's "Cartæ et Munimenta" from copies preserved at Margam Abbey; they are, however,

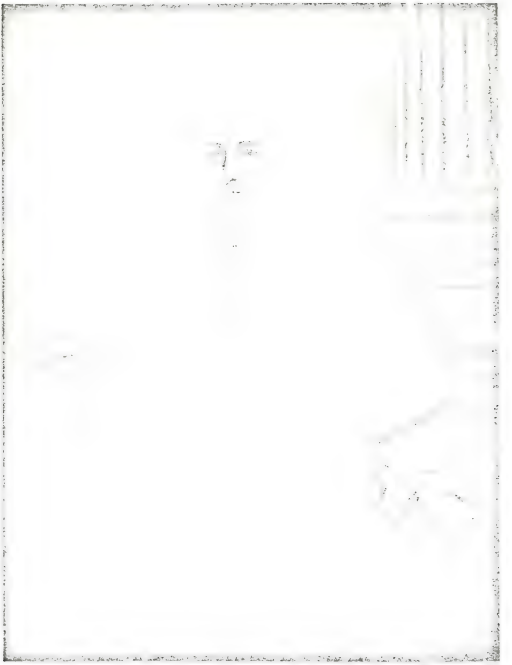
[1] Mon. Angl. (second edition). Vol. vi., p. 291. Wm. Bolton, whose tomb is alluded to in the above account, was the last prior but one under the old régime.

[2] "Annals of the Reformation," by John Strype. Vol. i., pt. i., p. 253. Ed. 1824.

superseded and annulled by his last will, dated December 10, 1558, which is registered at Somerset House, and was proved, with unusual promptitude, May 10, 1559, one month after his death. The text of all three wills is given in the Appendix; some of the provisions may be of service in determining the devolution of estates, should occasion arise. It will be noticed that, in the second will, the testator directs that his son Edward Mansel "shall content and pay the full and entire sum of £400 at the font in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London at the feast of the Assumption of our Lady (August 15) next after my death." There does not appear to be any motive for the payment of this large sum, approaching £2,000 in modern value, to St. Paul's Cathedral, unless it were the somewhat sentimental reason that Sir Rhys was born on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul; there may be some other explanation. In his last will, however, Sir Rhys omits this benefaction; it may have been bestowed before his death, but no mention of it is to be found in any annals of St. Paul's; probably the financial and other records in the cathedral were destroyed in the great fire, a century later.

The tenor of Sir Rhys Mansel's will is of some interest, as testimony to his character. It is the testament of a businesslike, high-minded, and charitable man, carefully considered in every detail. Kinsfolk, tenants, servants are all remembered in their degree, and in two instances debts are specifically remitted. Furthermore, Sir Rhys displayed an affectionate solicitude for his grandchildren and others of their generation, in the matter of education, setting aside the proceeds from certain estates to be used "in the finding and maintenance of one honest and learned man to teach instruct and bring up in learning the children of both my two sons Edward and Anthony and the children of my daughter Mary if they happen to have any, and the sons of my daughters, nephews and nieces, and three or four of the aptest children of my tenants," etc. Sir Rhys was certainly, in this respect, in advance of his times. He bequeaths small sums, from £1 to £5, to various churches in Wales.

To his daughter Mary he devises "a crimson velvet gown and the second black velvet gown that were my wife's." Here we may recognise the dress worn by Lady Mansel at Queen Mary's coronation,



SIR EDWARD MANSEL OF MARGAM (1531–1585).

already alluded to, probably very richly adorned, and preserved as a memento of that occasion. He also leaves to Mary Mansel a "diamond pointed which the Queen's Majesty gave to my wife."

Thus passed Sir Rhys Mansel, an ancestor of whom the Welsh Mansels have every reason to be proud. All that is recorded of him tends to display him as a man of high character, honourable in his dealings with all men, capable and courageous both in civil and military affairs, enjoying the confidence and goodwill of his sovereign and his colleagues.

Of Sir Rhys Mansel's immediate issue the only individual who calls for special notice is his eldest surviving son and heir, Edward.

We hear of Edward in the year 1557, as being concerned in a serious *mêlée* which occurred at Oxwich Castle. It arose out of that fruitful source of strife, the rights of wreckage. A French vessel, laden with wool, figs, and raisins, had been wrecked in the bay, and Sir Rhys Mansel's retainers had carried the crew, and a portion of the cargo, to Oxwich Castle. Upon hearing of this, Sir George Herbert, with a score or so of followers, mostly armed, came upon the scene, and proceeded to ransack various houses in the village, where they supposed some of the goods had been stored. They then went on to the castle; but Edward Mansel, who, in the house of his aunt, Mrs. Anne Mansel—his mother's sister, and his uncle Philip's widow—had got wind of Herbert's exploits, arrived first at the castle by a back entrance, and swore that he "wolde keep his father's house, and that he wolde dye in the gate before the said Sir George sholde enter therynto." Mrs. Anne, meanwhile, being apparently a courageous lady, not readily frightened, had ridden up to the door, and was on the point of joining her nephew when Herbert and his riotous crew appeared. Words were soon followed by blows; Edward Mansel was wounded in the arm and Sir George and his men were apparently getting the best of it, when one of them, by name Watkyn John ap Watkyn, changing his sword to his left hand, took up a stone and threw it, probably intending it for Edward Mansel; it took effect, however, upon his aunt, who was then standing behind him, and,

striking her on the forehead, inflicted a mortal hurt, of which the unfortunate lady died three days later.

This brutal incident immediately evoked cries of "Murder, murder!" from Edward's servants, and the assailants were so disconcerted by seeing the lady fall, and hearing these shouts, that they took their departure.

Sir Rhys and his son naturally took action against Herbert. There was an inquisition held at Cardiff, and subsequently the affair was dealt with by that all-powerful tribunal, the Star Chamber, very much to the discomfiture of Herbert, who was ordered to make full restitution, to pay all costs of the trial, and to indemnify Edward Mansel for the injury he had sustained, he and his men being meanwhile relegated to the Fleet prison. The matter of the death of Anne Mansell was "reserved to the trial of the laws of this Realm," but we do not hear what punishment was awarded to John ap Watkyn: very probably death.

The Star Chamber also vindicated categorically Sir Rhys Mansel's prior rights of wreckage, as pertaining to the Manor of Oxwich.

Edward Mansel was born, according to the finding of the inquisition post mortem on his father's estates, about the year 1531,[1] and was knighted in 1572—for what special service does not appear. It is stated, both by R. G. Maunsell and W. W. Mansell, that Sir Edward distinguished himself in many important services during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; this is recorded in Kimber's "Baronetage," but the nature of his services does not appear in the Calendar of State Papers.

In the year 1578 Sir Edward was one of several commissioners for matters of piracy (one of his colleagues being Sir Edward Stradling) for the county of Glamorgan; they had before them certain persons charged with having had dealings with one Thomas Clark, a pirate.[2]

In 1584 there was another dispute, on this occasion with the Earl of Pembroke, concerning wreckage rights. Certain goods were

[1] "Penrice and Margam Manuscripts," by W. de G. Birch. First Series; No. 370, p. 143

[2] Cal. State Papers: Elizabeth, 1557-1580; p. 599.

cast up from a wreck upon the banks of the Avon. The ultimate settlement of the dispute is not clear from the State Papers, but it has been seen already that the right to wreckage lies with the holder of the Margam estate, as it did formerly with the monks of Margam Abbey.[1]

It has been said that Scott, in his romantic novel "The Fortunes of Nigel," had in mind the subject of this present memoir when he introduced Sir Edward Mansell, a "polite old soldier and courtier," who is represented as Lieutenant of the Tower in the time of James I. There does not appear to be any solid foundation for this hypothesis; Mansel was not at any time Lieutenant of the Tower, nor was he living in the reign of James I.; he may, however, have been known to Scott as a knight and courtier of Elizabethan times, and novelists are, of course, permitted unlimited latitude in the matter of anachronisms. The question is not of any great interest; the adoption of the name by Sir Walter may have been merely fortuitous.

Sir Edward was Chamberlain of Chester, and Sheriff of Glamorgan, both appointments having been previously held by his father.[2]

There is some divergence concerning the date of Sir Edward's death. Mr. W. W. Mansell purports to give a copy of the wall tablet in Margam church, but places the year as 1595, and other writers have made a similar statement giving his age as fifty-four. This, however, does not accord with the inquisition taken after his father's death, wherein it is stated that he was twenty-eight years of age at that time (1559). From the copy of the inscription recently taken, it appears that he died on August 5, 1585, at the age of about fifty-five years, which is in agreement with the inquisition, and must be accepted as authentic.

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[1] Cal. State Papers: Elizabeth, 1581-1590; pp. 158, 160, 161, 164.

[2] Mr. R. G. Maunsell states (p. 22) that Sir Edward was appointed Chamberlain of Chester "upon the death of the Earl of Derby." Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, was appointed chamberlain upon the death of Sir Rhys Mansel, in 1550, and held it until 1565: in 1560 he was made *Lord Lieutenant* of Lancashire and Cheshire. He died 1572, and his son Henry, fourth earl, succeeded him in these offices, dying 1593. ("Complete Peerage," vol. iii., p. 71). If R. G. Maunsell is correct, the Earl of Derby must have held the post of chamberlain in addition to that of lord lieutenant; but "G. E. C." does not say so in the "Complete Peerage."

Mr. W. W. Mansell, tells us that Sir Edward "is stated [he does not say by whom] to have been a man of noble deportment, of elegant manners and refined education, as well as an antiquarian and geologist. He was much about the court, where his address and refinements made him a great favourite."

Sir Edward married Lady Jane Somerset, daughter of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester, by whom he had a very numerous family.[1]

Of his sons, by far the most distinguished was Robert, whose life will be dealt with in another chapter.

Of two others, Rhys and Charles, we hear in connection with Ireland. Whether or not the former took up his residence there is not clear; but in the year 1584 there is a letter from the lords justices, Dublin, to Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, to the effect that: "James Golde having forfeited his grant of the priory of Adare, through default of payment of rent, they recommend the bearer, Mr. Rice Mansfielde, to have the same."[2] On the same date, March 21, appears Rhys Mansel's petition to the same effect, and that he may hold the estates for forty years. Lord Justice Wallop writes separately to Burghley and Walsingham on behalf of Rhys.

Later, at the close of the sixteenth century, both brothers were concerned in the Tyrone rebellion—a long story of intrigue, of bitterness engendered by personal enmity, of misunderstanding and broken pledges, which cannot be here related in detail.

Hugh O'Niell, Earl of Tyrone, was a man of immense skill and ingenuity in controversy and evasions. It appears doubtful whether he would ever have gone the length of open rebellion, but for a deadly feud with Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of Ireland. Bagenal had a beautiful sister, with whom Tyrone fell in love, and she with him; her brother, however, would not hear of the match, used violent language to Tyrone, and sent the lady away to the care of a married

[1] Lady Jane was daughter of Henry Somerset by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne. Somerset was descended from John of Gaunt, but his own birth was irregular.

[2] Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1574-1585; p. 500. Adare is in county Limerick.

SIR EDWARD MANSEL.

(From an old Engraving in [illegible] Mr. Mansel Franklen.)

sister, near Dublin. Tyrone, however, was not to be denied, and th marriage took place, *malgré* the marshal, in August, 1591.

Following the endless controversy and futile exchanges of promises and covenants, which were always broken or evaded on Tyrone's part, extending over four years, while Bagenal, with persistent hostility and untiring machinations, was constantly goading him on, the blaze broke out in earnest, and the miserable conflict dragged on until the year 1603, just at the time of Elizabeth's death, when it ended with the submission and pardon of Tyrone.

During this period many battles had been fought, by no means always with favourable results to the English. There was intriguing on the part of the rebels with Spain and Scotland, whence they hoped to receive assistance.

Upon two occasions Captain Charles Mansel was apparently the bearer of despatches. Captain Charles Egerton, writing to the lords justices in Dublin, after reciting some of the difficulties and requirements of the English troops at Carrickfergus (Belfast Lough), and the depredations of the rebels, "Begs for an honourable care of their general wants, which he trusts Captain Charles Mansfield has signified before this." [1]

This despatch is dated January 6, 1597. In another, under date March 17, 1597, from the Earl of Ormond to Sir Robert Cecil, the former "prays very earnestly that the victuals and munition may be hastened. Most of the garrisons, through want thereof, like to have been clean forsaken, as the bearer, Captain Mansell, can certify." [2]

In the year 1596 we find three communications from Captain Rhys Mansel to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, conveying certain information which he has acquired concerning the movements and designs of the enemy; he appears to have been employed in what would now be termed the Intelligence Department.[3]

Concerning these two sons of Sir Edward, Charles and Rhys,

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[1] Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1598-99; p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1592-1598; pp. 523, 530, 537.

Mr. W. W. Mansell has the following: "Rhys entered the army, and had a troop under Tyrone, in Ireland, where he was killed. . . . Charles, who is styled 'Captain' in 1598, had also a troop under Tyrone, and was killed in the same action with his brother Rhys."

This confident assertion is wrong in more than one respect, as will presently be seen. The two brothers were not killed in the same action, and the statement that each "held a troop under Tyrone" is obviously inadmissible; from the official records above quoted it is plain that they were acting for the English Government—bearing despatches, reporting on the enemy's movements, and so forth. Certainly they held no command under Tyrone, and it is difficult to imagine how this writer could have entertained such an idea. The statement is repeated, however, by Mr. R. G. Maunsell.

There is, in fact, a great deal of information available concerning these two brothers, and the part they played in Ireland at this time, more especially with regard to Rhys.

On November 7, 1597, Captain Charles Egerton writes from Carrickfergus to Secretary Burleigh: "The fourth of this present month our Governor,[1] with the forces of this garrison, encountered with Sir James McDonnell, the Scot, betwixt Oldertleet and this town, our forces being then overthrown."[2]

Egerton encloses an account which is entitled "A certificate of the overthrow of Sir John Chichester," and from which it appears that McDonnell was in the neighbourhood with a considerable force of "Scots"—who were probably a mixture of Ulster men and Scotsmen who had come over at McDonnell's instigation—and had not declared himself on Tyrone's side, until, Sir John Chichester having written a remonstrance to him about the looting of his men on Magee Island (just north of Belfast Lough; it is in reality not an island, but

[1] Sir John Chichester was Governor of Carrickfergus at this time.

[2] Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1596-1597, p. 471. Sir James McDonnell was son of Sorley Boy McDonnell, a Scoto-Irish chieftain, who had given much trouble in Ireland in previous years. He was a dangerous and slippery individual, and Sir James appears to have inherited these traits. Whether he could be correctly styled "the Scot" is very doubtful. Sorley Boy had been Constable of Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, on the north coast of Ireland, and James succeeded him in this holding. The picturesque ruin of the castle still remains, dominating a deep-sea inlet, with high precipitous sides.

a peninsula), requesting him to come over and parley, McDonnell appeared close to Carrickfergus with his whole force, "whereupon our scouts took alarm"—not unnaturally. Sir John's force was not in good fighting trim, the men not having sufficiently recovered from the fatigue of a forced march in pouring rain two nights previously, wherein also their powder had been wetted.

However, it was only too obvious that McDonnell was more for fighting than parleying, having probably got his back up by reason of Sir John's accusation; so the English formed up, and a council of war was held.

Captain Rhys Mansel deprecated an attack, seeing the condition of their men and their ammunition, and most of the others agreed with him. Lieutenant Moses Hill, of the cavalry, urged the Governor to make a night attack, promising to lead the way to the Scots' camp, and this was resolved upon at the moment; but this prudent course was not, after all, adhered to.

Meanwhile, Sir John Chichester sent a messenger to the enemy, "giving them to understand that he took it not well that they should in such hostile manner seem to brave Her Majesty's forces in that sort, willing James McSorley that he should forthwith come and speak with him; but before this messenger returned, the former resolution agreed upon by the Governor and officers was altered."

The Englishmen, in fact, perpetrated the familiar national error of despising the enemy, who no doubt presented a sufficiently undisciplined, rag-tag-and-bobtail appearance.

"By this time Captain Merriman came up with the battle, unto whom the Governor merrily said, 'Now, Captain, yonder be your old friends; what say you? Shall we charge them?' Whereunto he answered, it was a shame we should suffer a sort of beggars to brave us in that sort. Whereunto the Sergeant Major answered, that he was an old friend of theirs. All this, notwithstanding, did not alter the Governor his former resolution, until two of our horsemen came up, who used words to this effect: 'Is it not a shame we should stand here to be braved by a company of base beggars?'"

Sir John, feeling perhaps that this sentiment involved a

certain imputation upon his own daring and capacity, unwisely allowed himself to be persuaded, and ordered a charge.

"Himself and Captain Mansel rode with the horsemen, who were about forty, and not above. The battle, containing sixty pikes or thereabouts, was led by Captain North and Captain Merriman the Sergeant Major's lieutenant, and Captain Charles Mansel's lieutenant. Captain Merriman's lieutenant led the forlorn hope, containing nine pikes and twelve or fifteen shot. Myself was to second him with a wing of shot to the number of twenty. The Governor's Sergeant and the Sergeant Major's Sergeant had the leading of two loose wings of shot, which were to second our horse."

Not a very formidable array—and it was not even as good as it looked, for it is obvious that there were among the English some who were more in sympathy with the enemy than with their officers, or else were very untrained and half-hearted fighters; and the end was disaster.

"Marching in this order towards the enemy, they forsook the hill whereon they stood, and in their retreat the Governor commanded the lieutenant of horse to charge, which he did, but not above six of his company followed him. In which charge himself was very sore shot in the shoulder."

Then the affair became a rout for the English; the enemy, seeing the backwardness of the horsemen, wheeled about and assumed the offensive, outflanking and completely breaking up the governor's force. Sir John and his officers strove in vain to rally their men: Chichester was seen to use his sword heavily upon a corporal and three or four soldiers who would not stand; Rhys Mansel led a desperate charge on a hillside, and perished in the act. The governor was first wounded in the leg, and shortly afterwards shot dead. Captain Merriman, Lieutenant Barry, and Egerton himself swam their horses across the narrow strait to Magee Island, and thus escaped.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Moses Hill, wounded though he was in the first futile attempt at a charge, had ridden back to Carrickfergus to obtain reinforcements and munitions. It was in reality too late to hope for a rally, the enemy being in hot pursuit; but Hill and

Captain Charles Mansel (who had been left behind to guard the town, though he was very ill), scraped together a few men and rode out boldly. It was no use, however; the rout was complete, and it was only through Charles Mansel's presence of mind that he and his companions avoided being cut off and made prisoners.

Sir John Chichester and Rhys Mansel were decapitated, and their heads sent to Tyrone; their bodies were buried at Carrickfergus.[1]

There had been, in the spring of this same year (1597) a bitter quarrel between Captain Charles Egerton and Captain Rhys Mansel; Egerton had accused Mansel and his officers of committing outrages in Carrickfergus, and Mansel had threatened to deprive Egerton of his command. They fought a duel, for which Egerton was summoned before the Star Chamber [2] and fined; it does not appear that Mansel was called to account for it. However, the battle of Carrickfergus effectually settled their differences, and Egerton had the burying of the mangled remnant of his former antagonist, while Rhys Mansel's head was sent off to Tyrone as a trophy—which speaks well for his qualities in the field, for such folk do not make trophies of the heads of contemptible adversaries, but rather of those who have taken the lead, and given them most trouble.

Thus was Rhys Mansel killed, while his brother Charles survived the battle.

On January 6, 1598, Charles Mansel was the bearer of despatches to the lords justices from Captain Egerton, who, after the death of Sir John Chichester, was placed in command at Carrickfergus, and again, on March 20, from the Earl of Ormond to Sir Robert Cecil; but we do not hear much more about him.

In August, 1598, there was another disastrous affair for the English, at a place known as "The Blackwater," six or seven miles from Armagh; the battle is sometimes mentioned as that of the Yellow Ford.

There is a very long and precise account of this affair in the

[1] This account is taken from Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1596-1597; pp. 441-445.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 326. Carew MSS., 1589-1600; p. 258.

Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal (new series, vol. i., pp. 256 *et seq.*). It has been suggested that Captain Charles Mansel was killed on this occasion, but his name does not appear in the relation, or in State Papers, in connection therewith; and though there is a list of captains killed, numbering nearly twenty, Mansel is not included among them. It appears extremely improbable that his name should have been omitted, if he was among the officers who were killed, or who took part in the action; the account is very full, the State Papers being supplemented by comments of the writer (Daniel MacCarthy, Esq.); it must be assumed therefore that Captain Charles Mansel was not present on this occasion.

There is, however, later mention of him, under the name of Mansfield (by which he is alternatively designated in the records; there does not appear to be any doubt as to the identity of Mansfield with Mansel). It is probable that he became settled in Ireland, married, and had issue; unless, indeed, there was some other Captain Mansfield or Mansel to the fore.

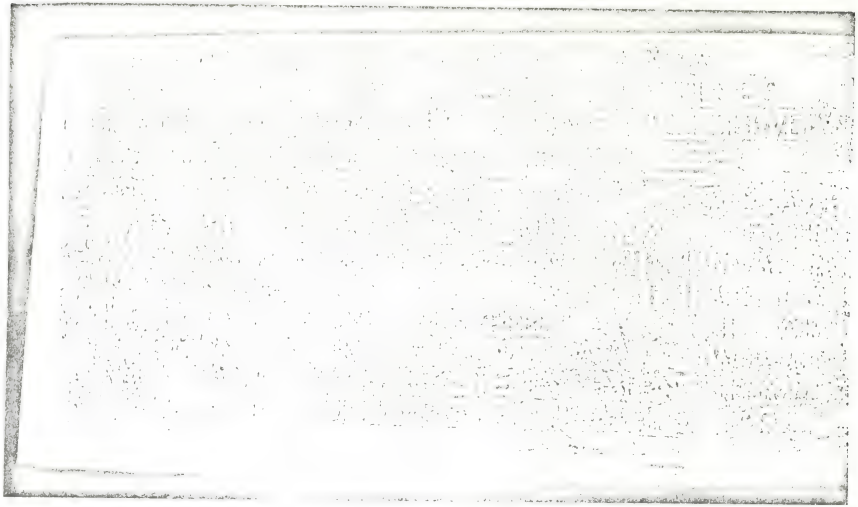
In 1611 there appears the report of a commission appointed to survey the "Works, Buildings, and Fortifications done by the English . . . in the Province of Ulster"; and in the town and precinct of Liffer, or Lyffer (probably Lifford, about fourteen miles south of Londonderry), it states: "There are two English houses of timber framed, stock, four horses, six English cows and a bull, three or four English labourers, but no tenants. Captain Mansfield, 1000 acres; is resident, has no inhabitants, nothing done."

Subsequently Mansel increased his holding to 1,500 acres, and there was some controversy in this same year concerning his title to certain land which it was said had been wrongly named; the question was decided in Mansel's favour. In 1619 there appears: "Captain Mansfield, 1,000 acres Killnerguerdon [or Killenegardon, which cannot be placed in the modern atlas], Barn finished, and a good stone house three stories high ready to be slated; he with his family dwell there."[1]

This is all there is to be found about Charles Mansel. His

[1] Carew MSS., 1603-1624; pp. 221-222, 231, [illegible]

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION IN COMBE MONKTON CHURCH.



Filia Ricci Mansell equitis Katherina
Bassetti hic Conjux Armigeri, e patria es
Bewperium domus est, et quo jacet ille Sepultus
Rex Britonum Morgan nasceris ipsa loco.

Annis erat vita decies octabus, et ipse
Te vehit ante Virum Sustulit annis annum
Quos ut junxit amor juvenes, ut junxit utrosque
Annorum numero pars Vicentia Sene

Junior illa fuit septem cum nubet annis,
Septem annis Vidua est tacta cruce vim
Conjugium ætatis magnum par tempus habebant,
Vita ambiet mortis par fuit ipsa dies

Rice Mansel, Knight. His daughter Katherine
From home thou art, the wife of Bassets Squire,
Bewper thy home, and where they did enshrine
Morgan, the Briton's King, thou didst a babe respire

Thy term of years was eight times ten, but time
Thine age sustained, and his who was thy care
A youthful pair love joined; and here they join
In death who had of days and years an equal share

Hy junior seven years, when they had wedded been
That term of life, and she a widow even
So that each had of time an equal share,
And the same day unlocked to both the gate of Heaven

William Basset died 10 March, 1[illegible], aged eighty years. Katherine Basset died 10 March, 15[illegible], aged eighty years.
(From "The Warrior of Marriage," Archæologia Cambrensis, Series III, Vol. V, p. [illegible])

[illegible] page [illegible]

brother Rhys, as we have seen, had land in Limerick, and it is interesting to note that in a "List of persons referred to in extracts from Ancient Records relating to Ireland, made in the time of Sir George Carew," the name of Mansell (so spelt) appears.[1] Records which are alluded to as "ancient" in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries go back a long way: possibly some thread may be picked up later, in discussing the Irish Maunsells.

The marriages, etc., of the other children of Sir Edward, so far as they are known, are duly set forth in the pedigree; the next chapter must be devoted to the exploits of his son Sir Robert.

In connection with the marriage of Mary, daughter of Anthony, and granddaughter of Sir Rhys Mansel, with Sir Thomas Awbrey, of Llantrithyd and Bucks, there is an interesting description of Llantrithyd Church, etc., in Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary of Wales," vol. ii., p. 107; it was written in 1849:

"The parish takes its name from Trithyd, a pupil of St. Illtyd, or Iltutus, to whom the church is dedicated. On the conquest of Glamorgan by Robert Fitz-Hamon, and its subsequent division, the castle and manor of Llantrithyd were assigned to Hywell (or Howell) ap Jestyn ap Gwrgan, with the privilege of exercising *jura regalia*; the castle was demolished in the year 1151 by Meredydd, great-grandson of Rhys ap Tewdr. The village, which stands about a mile south of the road between Cardiff and Swansea, occupies a secluded situation in a well-wooded valley, watered by a small rivulet. Llantrithyd House, formerly the seat of the Bassetts, and subsequently of the Aubreys, is now in ruins; it was a fine specimen of the style that prevailed in the reign of Henry VI., with later additions, and is stated by tradition to have afforded an asylum, during the Commonwealth, to many great and learned men of the Church of England, by whom academical degrees were here conferred. Upon a rising ground above the village is pleasantly situated Tyvry, a cottage *ornée*. Limestone abounds in the parish, in which also a considerable quantity of lead-ore is found.

"The living is a discharged rectory, rated in the King's books

[1] Carew MSS., "Book of Howth," p. 408.

at £8 13s. 4d.; patron, Sir T. D. Aubrey, Bart.; the tithes have been commuted for a rent-charge of £132 17s. 9d., and there is a glebe of fifty-two acres, valued, with a house, at £80 per annum. The church, dedicated to St. Illtyd, is a respectable edifice, containing a few ancient monuments, among which may be particularly noticed a stately one to the memory of a knight and his lady, of the Bassett family, in the best character of the style that prevailed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It has undergone considerable repair, and is now a remarkably neat structure. In the churchyard is a yew-tree, which, at the height of six feet from the ground, measures twenty-six feet in girth, and near the root little less than forty feet. . . . The ancient hall, in which the manorial courts were held, still remains; and having been applied, after the abolition of the independent jurisdictions of the lordships marcher, to the reception of the poor, it is now called the Church House. There is a mineral spring, the water of which is said to be efficacious in the cure of fluxes."

(In Lipscomb's "History of Bucks," vol. i., p. 74, there is an Aubrey pedigree, tracing the descent of the family from "Saunder de St. Awbrey or Alberick of France, brother to the Lord Alberick, Earl of Boulogne and Earl Marshal of France; came into England with William the Conqueror; circ. 1066." There is also, on p. 69, a Mansel pedigree, tracing the descent of "Dame Mary, wife of Sir Thomas Aubrey, Knt., daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Mansel, Esq., of Llantrithyd"; it is, however, erroneous in a good many particulars.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL, KT., ADMIRAL OF THE NARROW SEAS

B. 1573. Ob. 1656. (*Penrice Collection.*)

CHAPTER XII

Sir Robert Mansel

SIR ROBERT is said to have been born in or about the year 1573.[1] He is stated by W. W. Mansell, and also in the Dictionary of National Biography, to have been the fourth son of Sir Edward Mansell; R. G. Maunsell places him as sixth son. No record of any description is quoted in support of either statement; perhaps such evidence is not available. In Lieutenant Mansell-Pleydell's pedigree he is said to be tenth son; if he was born in 1573 this, however, appears improbable; and from his participation in certain important naval events, to be described hereafter, it is certain that he could not have been born later than this. His precedence of age in this huge family is not of any great importance; he may be accepted as probably the fourth son.

Robert must have commenced his sea-training at an early age. John Campbell, in "Lives of the British Admirals," says: "He attached himself early to the sea service, and, under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet." Sir John Laughton, in the Dict. Nat. Biog. says: "Through the Gamages of Coity he was related to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, with whom, it is said, he first went to sea."[2] Sir John Laughton further remarks: "This would appear to imply that he served against the Spanish Armada, but we hear nothing of him until 1596." Robert would, however,

[1] The year is roundly asserted in the Dict. Nat. Biog. In G. T. Clark's "Some Account of Sir Robert Mansel," he "seems to have been born about 1573." No authority is given in either case, and it does not appear from what source the information is derived; it may, however, be accepted as quite probably correct.

[2] The relationship, however, was very remote.

have been only fifteen years of age at the time of Effingham's victory over the Spanish Armada, so one would not expect to hear very much about him, even if he occupied some very subordinate position on one of the English ships.

Wherever he may have served during the early years of his naval career, there is ample ground for the assumption that he made good use of his time, and displayed a remarkable aptitude for his profession.

In the year 1595 there were persistent rumours of a renewed intention on the part of Spain to attempt the invasion of England. The destruction of the "invincible" armada in 1588 had apparently been forgotten, or at least did not remain as a salutary recollection and warning in the minds of the rulers of Spain, and there is but little doubt that some such enterprise was contemplated, and preparation being made for it; and we have already seen how the Earl of Tyrone and his associates were looking for assistance from this quarter.

It is doubtful whether England's counter-stroke would have been delivered in this year, but for the fact that, through the mismanagement of the French, and their rashness in declining the proffered assistance of England, the Spaniards succeeded in gaining possession of Calais.

This would never do: the fleet and army which were already being prepared for an attack, at no settled date, upon Spain, were completed and equipped for service in great haste, and were actually ready in six weeks after the fall of Calais.

The expedition against Cadiz consisted of probably seventeen English ships of war; but the records are in some conflict on this point. In addition to this fleet there were a number of auxiliary vessels, named in one document "London men-of-war"; these apparently numbered ten; and sixty-two transports and victuallers, carrying in all about 6,500 troops.

Furthermore, there was a Dutch fleet of eighteen fighting ships and six others.

It has been stated in some quarters that the expedition numbered one hundred and fifty ships in all; but this total does not appear to be accounted for in the details given by various authorities.

The expedition was under the joint command of Charles Howard, Lord Effingham—already famous in connection with the conquest of the Spanish Armada eight years previously—who was then Lord High Admiral, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex: "Generals equally, both by land and sea," as Sir William Monson puts it in his Tract about this expedition, though Essex had apparently obtained from Queen Elizabeth the command of the land forces.

The force was divided into five squadrons, to wit: The Lord High Admiral's, the Earl of Essex's, Lord Thomas Howard's, Sir Walter Raleigh's, and the Dutch squadron, under Admiral Duyvenboord.

The expedition sailed from Plymouth on June 1, and was off Cadiz on the 20th, and with it went Robert Mansel; but as to which ship or squadron he sailed in the records are not in agreement.

Monson places him in Essex's squadron, in command of the *Vanguard*, 240 men, with James Woodcott as master under him, and styles him "Sir Robert" in anticipation.

Captain (afterwards Sir William) Slingsby, also a partaker in the affair, under "the Lord Thomas Howard's Squadron," has "Captain Robert Mansell, in the *Crane*, Rear-Admiral"; apparently Mansel was, according to this writer, given temporary flag rank by Lord Thomas Howard.

Captain Slingsby gives a list of the officers, superior and inferior, of the "land army" as well as those of the navy; and among the former his own name appears as "Commissary General of the Munitions." He does not, however, include Sir William Monson's name among the naval officers; there is no doubt that Monson was on board the *Rainbow*, in Essex's squadron, and afterwards in the *Repulse*.

Probably Monson's account of the distribution of the naval forces is more accurate than Slingsby's, and it may therefore be accepted that Robert Mansel was in command of the *Vanguard*, under the Earl of Essex.[1]

[1] "Naval Miscellany." Vol. i., pp. 37 *et seq.* "Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson." Navy Record Society. Vol. xxiii., pp. 344 *et seq.* It is interesting that among the officers of Sir Christopher Blount's regiment Slingsby has "Captain Mansell"; this may have been a brother of Sir Robert.

He was then only three-and-twenty, so it is quite clear that he was a remarkably capable man for his age, and was favourably regarded by the naval chiefs of the expedition.

There are several long accounts of this undertaking; there is no occasion to enter in detail upon the operations. It was a very successful business, the Spanish ships being first dealt with, and the town rushed and sacked subsequently. Essex was very anxious afterwards to march further inland, but his colleagues would not consent. Afterwards, on the voyage home, he urged that he should be detached with twelve ships to search for Spanish treasure-ships;[1] but was again denied permission—any such exploits required the consent of the Council. Essex was very jealous, fretting at the joint command; and when, in the following year, Howard was created Earl of Nottingham for his services at Cadiz, taking precedence, by virtue of his office, of Essex, the latter flew to the queen in a fury at what he considered to be a slight; upon which Her Majesty made him Earl Marshal, which gave him back his precedence of Nottingham.

After the destruction of the fleet and the fall of Cadiz, Lord Howard of Effingham and the Earl of Essex bestowed the honour of knighthood upon about sixty military and naval officers, for their good services, and among these thus rewarded was Robert Mansel. The list is given in Slingsby's account, distinguishing between those knighted by Howard and Essex; Mansel's name, as would be expected, appears among the former.

Sir Robert Mansel was thus firmly placed, at the early age of twenty-three, upon the lower rungs of the ladder of fame; it remained with himself, in great measure, to pursue the ascent, and he does not appear to have neglected his opportunities.

Philip of Spain, so far from being intimidated by the English victory at Cadiz, prepared immediately for another attempt at invasion of Ireland. Every available ship was summoned to Lisbon, and a formidable expedition set forth in the spring, comprising a large fleet and a considerable body of troops, including a

[1] As a matter of fact, a rich flota, or fleet of treasure-ships, was then approaching the Azores; but it is doubtful whether the provisions on the English ships would have held out for this enterprise.

great number of fugitives from Ireland. Soon after the fleet had sailed from Ferrol it fell in with terrific weather, in which many ships were lost, and the remainder compelled to put back. It is noticeable that this attempt was organised so secretly and so swiftly, that the news of the disaster to the Spanish fleet was the first intimation received of its conception in England.

Nothing daunted, Philip set about organising another expedition; but this time he did not succeed in keeping his plans secret.

A fleet was fitted out, with the object of first surprising the Spaniards in Coruna and Ferrol, and then seizing one or more of the Azores Islands, to serve as a base from which to intercept the homeward-bound Spanish treasure-ships.

This expedition, known as the Voyage to the Islands, was placed under the command of the Earl of Essex, with Lord Thomas Howard as Vice, and Sir Walter Raleigh as Rear-Admiral.

The fleet consisted of about twenty English ships of war and ten Dutchmen; the details vary somewhat in different accounts, but the list given by Sir W. Laird Clowes [1] is probably accurate. From this it appears that Sir Robert Mansel was captain of the *Mer-Honour*, the flagship of the Earl of Essex, while Lord Thomas Howard had his flag on board the *Due Repulse*, and Sir Walter Raleigh on the *Warspite*.

This arrangement was, however, subsequently altered, for in Monson's "Naval Tracts," [2] we find that Sir Robert was flag-captain under Essex on board the *Mer-Honour* from June 1 to August 13, and apparently on the *Repulse* under Lord Thomas Howard from August 18 to December 23. As a matter of fact, when the fleet made a fresh start after the disastrous storm—to be presently described—the *Mer-Honour*, being badly damaged, was probably left at home; Essex shifted his flag to the *Repulse*, while Lord Thomas Howard took the *Lion*. This is made plain in the list already referred to, where Lord Thomas appears in the *Repulse* from June 14 to August 17, and in the *Lion* from August 17 to December 24; so that Sir Robert was actually flag-captain to the Earl of Essex throughout.

[1] "The Royal Navy." Vol. i., p. 520.

[2] Navy Records Society. Edited by M. Oppenheim. Vol. xxiii., p. 38.

The first part of the programme—the surprise attack upon the Spanish fleet at Corunna and Ferrol—was by no means reckoned as certain of success by experienced seamen and soldiers, and in her instructions to Essex to attack the ships, etc., at Ferrol, the queen evidently recognises it as a risky undertaking—"but we will that none of our ships be appointed to enter into any havens to the manifest danger of our said ships"—which, as the editor of these "Navy Records" remarks, was equivalent to demanding omelettes without the breaking of eggs. Sir William Monson, in reply to a request from Essex for his opinion, delivers a very shrewd and seamanlike judgment, pointing out the risk of the ships being becalmed in the narrow approach, and thus placed at the mercy of the forts; and he strongly advises that the Islands enterprise be first undertaken, and the other left for future consideration.

However, this advice was not adopted, and on July 9, 1597, the fleet sailed from Plymouth, only to encounter a violent gale of wind, which compelled it to put back, with considerable damage to some of the ships; and also with the result that some of the courtiers and men of rank who had volunteered to accompany Essex went on shore and remained there.[1]

The fleet sailed a second time on August 17, with the fresh disposition of officers already alluded to; and more bad weather was encountered. Then, according to Sir W. Laird Clowes, "the course was ill-advisedly steered parallel with the coasts of Asturias and Gallicia, so that the ships were sighted from the shore, and warning of their approach was conveyed to the enemy in Corunna."

Monson, however, says: "The first land we fell in withal was the North Cape (Ortegal)," which was the rendezvous named in case of parting company.

However, there was no attempt at anything in the form of a surprise attack upon the two great naval ports. Essex was anxious to go in and give battle, but the Council of War was against him,

[1] As Camden relates: "These men, with their feathers waving, and glittering in their gay clothes (a peculiar vanity of the English when they go to the warres) set saile from Plymouth the 9 of July . . . some of the more delicate men were growne so feeble with vomiting, and were so afraide of the checks of the furious winde, that they secretly withdrew themselves home."

and after hanging about for a time in the hope of enticing the Spaniards to come out and fight, the fleet steered away for the Azores, in consequence of a very improbable story told by a privateer to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was cruising further south than Essex, that the Spanish fleet had slipped out, bound for the Azores.

The rest of the cruise was merely a series of blunders; Essex kept crossing about from one island to another, making locally successful attacks, which could not affect the main purpose of the enterprise; and then the treasure-ships turned up, being encountered at night by Sir William Monson alone, in the *Rainbow*, which had become detached from the rest by a mischance. Monson, uncertain at first as to the nationality of the strangers, got into his boat, there being but little wind, and pulling within hail, asked whence they were. They answered, of Seville, in Spain, and asked whence he was; he told them of England, and invited them to chase and capture his solitary ship, hoping to entice them within reach of the English fleet; but the Spaniards were too wary. "They returned him some shot and ill language, but craftily kept on and would not alter their course to Terceira, whither they were bound, and where they arrived, to our misfortune."

Essex, when at length he received news from Monson of the arrival of the Spanish ships, was in the wrong place, off the island of St. Michael's, and before he could beat up to Terceira and collect his forces the Spaniards had got into Angra, the chief port of Terceira, hauled close in under the forts, and were practically in an impregnable position: this, at any rate, was the conclusion arrived at by Essex and his colleagues. So they got neither the Ferrol fleet nor the treasure, and returned to England in a chastened mood.

There was a very bitter quarrel between Essex and Raleigh, the latter being accused of acting upon his own initiative, and breaking his promise to the Council, in attacking the island of Fayal without waiting for Essex. Raleigh was threatened with a court-martial—or its equivalent of that time—and disgrace: but Lord Thomas Howard, who was a general favourite, and possessed of an ingratiating personality, mediated between the two angry admirals, and induced Raleigh to offer and Essex to accept an apology.

Amid all this tangle of futile ventures and alarms, we must suppose that Sir Robert Mansel was performing his duties as flag-captain to Essex, and acquiring experience, for he was only four-and-twenty.[1]

Essex made some knights on this occasion, but there was nothing approaching the wholesale *accolade* which ensued after the Cadiz affair; nor was there any such enthusiastic greeting for the returning fleet, which arrived piecemeal, by twos and threes, with many sick, and scanty store of provisions.

Meanwhile, a little project of the King of Spain, to seize and fortify Falmouth and use it as a base for operations in Ireland, had perhaps been prevented only by the weather! This, at least, was the opinion of Sir William Monson: "We say, and that truly, that God fought for us, for the Spaniards had never so dangerous an enterprise on us."[2]

We next hear of Sir Robert as commanding a small squadron of ships off the coast of Ireland, in connection with the Tyrone rebellion, in which his two brothers, Rhys and Charles, had already fought bravely on the queen's side; this was in 1599. In 1600 he was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Sir Richard Leveson is ordered to support him, as he is "but weak."[3]

There is no account, however, of any particular enterprises or exploits at this time in connection with his command; and he must very shortly afterwards have obtained leave of absence, for in October, 1600, he was one of the principals in an extraordinarily savage and bloody duel in Norfolk.

His antagonist was Sir John Heydon, a younger brother of Sir Christopher Heydon of Norfolk. There is a long account of this

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[1] The Earl of Essex was but one-and-thirty; Lord Thomas Howard was five years his senior; while Raleigh, subordinate to both as rear-admiral, was five-and-forty.

[2] Monson's "Tracts," Navy Records Society, vol. xxiii., p. 32. The Spanish treasure fleet is said to have carried specie, etc., to the value of 10,000,000 pesos, or "pieces of eight"—say two and a half million pounds (*ibid.*, p. 68). On board one of their ships was Sir Richard Hawkyns, a prisoner after a desperate fight on board his ship, the *Dainty*, with a vastly superior force, off the west coast of South America. The "notes" on the Islands Voyage, by M. Oppenheim, give an admirable analytical account of the enterprise.

[3] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1598-1601; pp. 463-4.

affair in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,[1] compiled from manuscripts in the British Museum. It would probably not have acquired so much notoriety, unusually sanguinary though it was, but for the fact that Mansel, in the course of the encounter, cut off Heydon's left hand, and that this ghastly memento of the incident was afterwards preserved by members of the family, and eventually deposited in the public museum at Canterbury, with an inscription to the effect that it was once the hand of an Englishman, a knight of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that it was cut off in a duel, and that "Sir John died of the wounds he received in the said duel." It is singular that the collateral descendants of Sir John, who had passed this hand on from one to another, should have permitted this statement to be attached to it, for it is not true; Sir John survived the duel certainly for over fifteen years, and was known as "Heydon with one hand."

Whatever may have been the cause of the quarrel—and it is not revealed in any account—there can be no question but that it was of the most bitter character, and Mansel displayed, upon the occasion of the meeting, the utmost impatience of delay, choosing to fight with a rapier which was shorter than Heydon's, rather than wait while another was provided.

Mansel's own account, from the original manuscript,[2] is given in full, but it is not necessary to transcribe it *verbatim*.

From this narrative it appears that the two principals, attended by Sir Edwin Rich and Thomas Knyvett,[3] met outside the Bestreet (or Berstreet) gate (at the south side of Norwich), and Mansel was immediately urgent that he and Heydon should be left alone; apparently the other two were not intended to witness the combat as seconds, nor did they do so. Then the dispute about the swords arose: Heydon's was a full inch longer; Sir Edwin Rich's was a match for Heydon's, and Mansel wished to borrow it, but Rich refused it. Knyvett strongly opposed Mansel's wish to fight with his

[1] New Series, vol. xxxix., p. 481.

[2] Addit. MSS., 27961, British Museum.

[3] Mansel alludes to him as "my dear nephew Knyvett." Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Bacon, Mansel's brother-in-law, married Sir Thomas Knyvett, of Ashwellthorp, Norfolk. (Kimber's "Baronetage." Vol. i., p. 4.)

own weapon, and suggested that they should return and have Heydon's shortened. Mansel says: "I absolutely refused, and swore that they both should not keep me from ending the difference at that time with my own sword"; and so, after the two others had examined them to see that they wore no secret armour or protection under their clothes, they rode on together. Heydon refused to fight in a more or less secluded spot suggested by Mansel, and finally alighted on a rise, as Mansel asserts, "between two great high ways . . . for he would ride no further, although he saw company riding on both sides."

However, there do not appear to have been any witnesses of the affair. Each was armed with a rapier and dagger. Both were wounded at the first passage, Heydon the more seriously, "whereupon he turned his back towards me, and following of him he stumbled, and after I did judge he would fall I struck him a blow on the face, wherewith he fell upon his hands and knees, and he cried, 'That I would not kill him basely on the ground, for he would make me any satisfaction I would demand,' which, I confess, held me from doing him any further hurt until he did rise; and when he was up without speaking any one word, he ran me into the breast again, and my thrust missed him. . . . Then we fell to stabs with our daggers." Mansel, according to his own account, mauled Heydon severely, upon which the latter cried for quarter a second time, promising satisfaction, but again attacking Mansel when off his guard, wounding him twice in the right arm: "whereupon I never left him until he cried the third time to me to hold my hands, saying again he would make me any satisfaction, whereunto I answered I would never trust a treacherous villain the third time, unless he would lay down his rapier and dagger, which at the first, in valiant terms, he denied, until he saw me press him so hotly, he said if I would not kill him he would lay down his rapier and dagger and make me whatsoever satisfaction I would, which I promised by oath to perform, though he in the interim thrust his rapier in the ground to break it. But, perceiving it would not break, he laid his rapier and dagger cross-wise close by his feet, and stepped back as I willed him. Then I took up his rapier and dagger, and carried them to the place where I left my

purse and inkhorn, and drew out my articles from my breast, where I carried them, and brought them, with ink and pen, to him to sign, who seeing me come towards him, fell down and told me I had killed him, and he was not able to write; then I did protest to kill him, which I would have done if he had not signed the articles, and thereupon he set his hand, and told me he could write no better, and so I put up the articles in my pocket, and at his request I cast my cloak upon him, and going towards my horse with his rapier and dagger, I espied two men coming very near, and it made me call them for witness; and then I asked Sir John whether he had signed this paper, which I drew forth out of my pocket, who would make me no other answer, but that he hoped there was nothing but the articles, and willed me to remember he had not then read them."

It is somewhat remarkable that, in this circumstantial account of the fight, Mansel makes no allusion whatever to the terrible maiming of his antagonist by the severing of his left hand. However, Sir Robert, very much the worse for wear, mounted and made for home, where he found Sir John Townshend and other gentlemen assembled, whom he called to bear witness to the fact that he had no armour or other protection under his clothing—and so went to bed.

The witnesses who arrived upon the scene were two husbandmen, Henry Hardyn and Thomas Yarham, whose depositions were afterwards taken in the presence of Sir Bassingbourne Gaudy and Mr. Hungate, justices of the peace. The testimony of these men is in conflict with Sir Robert's account on one point; he says that Heydon had already signed the paper before they appeared, and that he called upon him to acknowledge in their presence that he had done so. Hardyn and Yarham assert that Sir Robert pulled the paper out of his pocket, and requested Heydon to sign it, and that he answered that "he could not or would not."

What was the substance or import of these "articles" does not appear.

There was naturally some fuss about this sanguinary business, and Mansel had a good friend in Sir Bassingbourne Gaudy, who had married the daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon, junior, and was

consequently Mansel's nephew by marriage, though he was thirteen years his senior.[1]

The two justices, Sir Bassingbourne Gaudy and Mr. Hungate, wrote to Lord Thomas Howard and the Earl of Nottingham on Mansel's behalf, enclosing copies of the depositions of the two husbandmen; it is implied that Heydon and his friends had also obtained the testimony of the two men. In their letter to the Earl of Nottingham, Gaudy and Hungate allude to "certain proceedings had between Sir Robert Mansfeelde and Sir John Heydon, concerning their last fight"—from which it would appear that this was not the first encounter between them.

Sir Bassingbourne Gaudy also wrote to Lord Chief Justice Popham, enclosing copies of these depositions; but the lord chief justice disapproved of the whole business, depositions and all, and gave Gaudy to understand that he would be better employed, as justice of the peace, in discouraging and reproving mischief-makers —"batesowers" he calls them—on both sides, "which seek to win fame to themselves by setting others at division by flattering the one and belying the other . . . which as you tender your own reputation and the quiet of your country I exhort you to take care of, and when you find any unseeming behaviour from either side to other to persuade better and more gentlemanlike carriage; and even so I betake you to the protection of the Almighty, and the peace of your country to your care."

The lord chief justice, who evidently possessed a good deal more information about the quarrel, or quarrels, of Mansel and Heydon than is now accessible, apparently was of opinion that it was "six of one and half a dozen of the other," though Sir John Heydon's conduct, if correctly described by Mansel, in twice attacking

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[1] Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, b. 1509. d. 1579. =

- Elizabeth = Sir Robert Mansel, b. 1573
- = Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave
  - Sir Basingbourne Gaudy, b. 1560 = Dorothy

after hoisting the white flag, was certainly not that of a "sportsman."

There are several letters extant from Sir Robert to Sir Bassingbourne Gaudy concerning the duel, but they do not throw much further light upon the matter; apparently the combatants were bound over to keep the peace; and Mansel promises to use what influence he possesses to obtain the lieutenancy of the county for Gaudy, expressing repeatedly his lasting gratitude for the assistance of the latter, and subscribing himself "your affectionate friend and loving uncle." [1]

There appears to have been some threat of another encounter, for Lord Chief Justice Popham, writing to Sir Robert Cecil, December 31, 1600, says: "I am advertised out of Norfolk from a gentleman of very good sort, and one that wisheth well to the peace of that country, that if it be not foreseen, it is much doubted that some outrage will fall out now at the next quarter sessions at Norwich, which will be on Tuesday next come seven night, between Sir Robert Mansell and Sir John Heydon, to the hazard of one or both their lives, besides the breach it hath made and will make in the whole country, which, as it is feared, is already too much wrought into faction by them. I moved they both might have been sent for, and that order might have been taken between them, but other occasion hath put it off, and if it had not been before the Board, I would then have taken some order in it myself. Sir Robert was here [Sergeants' Inn, London], but hath passed away again. If it be not prevented, haply it will hardly be stayed when it were to be wished." [2]

Possibly the apprehension of the lord chief justice was verified, and a second meeting took place, Heydon on this occasion losing his hand; there is, however, no evidence forthcoming on this point.

It was a somewhat sordid and brutal business, quite unlike the ordinary conception of a duel, with punctilious conventions enforced by polite seconds, winding up with the expression of mutual "satisfaction," and the shaking of hands. The preservation of the ghastly

[1] See Egerton MSS., No. 2714.

[2] Salisbury MSS., pt. x., p. 432.

relic of the episode in a public museum is a proceeding the motive of which it is not easy to perceive. Sir John's hand would have been more fittingly bestowed had it been decently buried in Norfolk.[1]

Meanwhile, Sir Robert Mansel's former chief, the Earl of Essex, was in serious trouble, by reason of his unlicensed and doubtful proceedings in his capacity of Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland, where Tyrone was at this period giving a great deal of trouble. Essex, of course, rushed over to throw himself at Elizabeth's feet; but he was unable to clear himself, and ultimately embarked upon the historic rebellion which ended in his ruin and death.

Anthony Bacon, brother-in-law to Sir Robert Mansel, and brother of Francis Bacon (afterwards the famous Sir Francis), was a great friend of Essex; but Francis is held to have played a double part with regard to the earl's offences, and Sir Robert Mansell appears to have been active in seeking out evidence against Essex and his supporters.[2]

John Chamberlain, the famous court gossip, writing to Dudley Carleton, October 31, 1601, says: "Sir Robert Mansfield and Sir Amyas Preston have brought into the river six Easterlings[3] from Spain, laden with spices and some bullion, which we pretend belong to certain Portuguese; many doubt that they will hardly prove good prizes."[4] Perhaps they were not allowed, as, in a letter from Wm. Resould to Sir Robert Cecil, six months later, concerning a similar capture, the writer cites the rules which govern the case,

[1] The severance of Sir John Heydon's hand in the fight is somewhat remarkable, in view of the term "rapier" as applied to the weapons in use. The old "cut-and-thrust" style of sword-play was then practically obsolete, and the rapier was almost exclusively used for pointing, for which it was adapted. To cut off a hand with it would appear to be a difficult feat; possibly this was done with the sharp, two-edged dagger, though the right hand would be more likely to suffer in that case than the left; but an attempt to thwart a dagger thrust with the left hand might have brought about the mutilation.

[2] In some contemporary notes relating to Essex's rebellion, seemingly by an officer of the Tower, and mentioning prisoners who were received there, occurs: "Feb. 13 Capt. Lea was brought there by Sir Robt. Mansfield." (Cal. State Papers, 1601-1603; p. 89.) Thomas Lea (or Lee) was a captain under Essex in Ireland, and a staunch supporter of the earl. At his trial he spoke out boldly in defence of Essex. He was executed at Tyburn.

[3] Traders of the Baltic.

[4] Letters of John Chamberlain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (Cam. Soc.), p. 119.

and adds: "Therefore, all the money taken by Sir Robert Mansel might have been made prize."[1] There was a question raised especially concerning the pepper which formed a portion of the cargo.[2]

Meanwhile, there were constant rumours about a threatened Spanish invasion, either of Ireland or England, in the air.

In July, 1601, Mansel writes to Sir Robert Cecil, giving him news on the subject of these preparations; and on August 4 Sir Richard Leveson and Mansel write a joint letter, giving their views as to the course which should be taken, and reporting that the Dutch are somewhat cold and unresponsive in the matter.

Cecil replies, August 8, to Leveson: "Her Majesty well liked the letters signed by you and Sir Robert Mansell, because there appeared the resolution and discretion which she expected at the hands of men of your quality, for which we are to give you thanks. . . . The noise of the preparation is too great for Ireland. . . . Commend me to Sir Robert Mansell, and thank him for his letter. I shall tell Her Majesty how fit he is to do her service."[3]

However, the next active business in which Sir Robert took part was the interception of six Spanish galleys. Some Dutch men-of-war took part in the operation, and there was subsequently some disagreement as to the credit due to Dutch or English forces.

On September 24, 1602, Sir Thomas Fane writes from Dover Castle to Lord Cobham (Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports): "This afternoon, at 5 p.m., Sir Robert Mansell, with two of the Queen's ships and two Hollanders, discovered six galleys six or seven leagues eastward, and each two leagues apart. I have sent word into the Downs. P.S.—The galleys are over against Folkestone, and Sir Wm. Browne of Flushing, newly come to Dover, has gone aboard with Capt. Bredgate."

Lord Cobham reports this to Sir Robert Cecil, and encloses a later communication from Sir Thomas Fane on the same day:

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[1] Salisbury MSS., pt. xii., p. 109.

[2] *Ibid.*, pt. xi., p. 476.

[3] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1601-1603; pp. 78, 79, 83.

"The Queen's ships have fought with the galleys and dispersed them and greatly hurt them; three of their galley slaves leaped into the sea over against St. Margaret's, and swam ashore. I have put them into Dover Castle."

An unfinished draft of a letter from —— to Lord ——, September 27, has the following: "As it is a ticklish thing for ships to intercept galleys, I let you know that having been advertised that Spinola passed hitherward from Lisbon, with six galleys for Sluys, Her Majesty appointed Sir Robert Mansell to join with the States fleet before Dunkirk and Sluys, to impeach them; Sir Robert with three ships rode about Dungeness, the ships a good distance apart. Two fly-boats rode higher to the westward, one to give the other the alarm; the rest rode before Dunkirk and Sluys. On Thursday last one of the fly-boats met them holding their course north-east, whereupon the fly-boats wrought across the Channel. Sir Robert put himself into the middle of the Channel, and shot off to give the ships to the eastward warning. At last the galleys bore up close to the English shore, within the Goodwin towards the Downs, those ships sailing after sometimes shooting, but to little purpose, for night came on; whereupon five Flemings riding in the Downs, hearing the report of the ordnance, set sail ahead of them, and in a great storm, crossed them, and they seeking to make over towards the Flemish coast, three were shot and sunk, as Sir Robert has now brought word. Thereupon 16 or 17 sail that were riding before Dunkirk and Sluys weighed, had them in chase, and put them to the eastward of Sluys, by which all men assure themselves that they are all cast away, for the storm was such that Thursday night, as they had much ado to live themselves."

The slaves who swam on shore near Folkestone, under examination by Sir Thomas Fane, said that Spinola was on board one of the galleys, that each carried 200 soldiers and twenty-five rowers, and four men to every oar—in Spinola's galley five men to an oar. All the treasure and adventure was Spinola's.[1]

Not long after this affair, a report of the operations was

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1601-1603; pp. 242, 243.

circulated, in which the whole of the credit was accorded to the Dutchmen. Sir Robert, who had gone into the country on leave after reporting himself to the lord high admiral and the Council, upon returning to London found this story going round; so he straightway wrote a full account to the Earl of Nottingham, which was printed and circulated, in order, as Sir Robert says, to clear his own reputation.

This letter, as a characteristic production, and probably a perfectly true account of the action, is here given *in extenso*, together with a reproduction of the cover of the pamphlet as issued at the time.[1]

TO THE RIGHT

HONORABLE MY

SINGVLAR AND BEST LORD,

THE EARLE OF NOTTINGHAM,

LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND

My dutie to your Lordship humbly remembred. Although the seruice which I confesse I doe owe unto your Lordship in a manner from my childhood for many fauors, doth so much oblige me, as I cannot thinke how euer it may fall in my power to expresse it: yet cannot I but acknowledge that those fauours of yours, whereby any publike trust or seruice hath been committed to me, doe sit necrest my heart, and as often as I do thinke of them, doe call me to a stricter account then any others, which doe onely touch me in a priuate qualitie: for that in the one, I am onely obliged to acquite my honesty towards your loue: but in the others I am bound in a sort to make good your judgement, and to iustifie the choise you haue made of me, as a seruant of the State, for whom your selfe are

[1] John Chamberlain, in one of his numerous letters, dated October 2, 1602, remarks: "The reports of the manner of the fight are so uncertain and contrarious that I know not how to set it down, but will leave it to time to discover." Subsequently, on November 4, in a postscript to a letter to Dudley Carleton, he writes: "The Dutch men had set out a relation of the fight with the gallies, which we allow not, neither indeed do their own tales agree: whereupon I thought good to send you this report of Sir Robert Mansell, in answer of [illegible] panions." This evidently refers to the report here transcribed. ("Letters of J. C. during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," pp. 151, 161.)

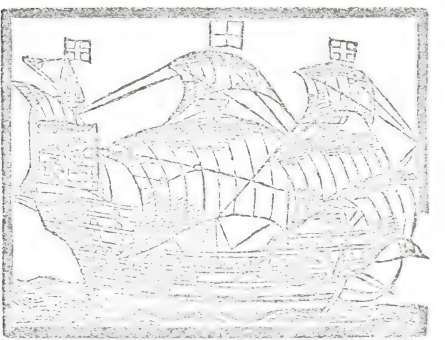
accountable to her from whom all power in our State is derived. The sense which hereof I haue in the inwardest retraite of my soule, is the cause I haue thought my dutie both to you, and to the State not a little interessed, in a report very vulgar in many mens mouthes in the Citie, and by this time perhaps spred ouer the Realme. And confirmed by a Pamphlet printed, contayning a narration of the late seruice done vpon the Gallies: wherein no mention being made, neither of my selfe, nor of any of her Maiesties Shippes, nor of our nation, wee are all secretly touched with some note, either of negligence of the things committed to vs, (I specially) or of vnskilfulnes, or of want of courage: from the staines of all which it imported, me to cleere my selfe, not onely for mine owne sake, and our nations; but in some sort for your Lordship, who through my errors cannot but be wounded, for the ill choise made of me, for so great a charge: I haue therefore (though against my nature, which delighteth not to talke of my selfe) been forced for your Lordship, and all other mens satisfaction, to expresse in a few lines, a true report of all that was done in that seruice: which as it is free from affectation of glorie to my selfe, or of imputation to others; so doe I vpon all the duties I owe, both to your Lordship, and to my owne reputation, vndertake to make good in every point thereof. Besseeching your Lordship notwithstanding, not to repose your selfe onely vpon mine owne assertions: but by diligent inquisition (which is not hard for your Lordship to make, hauing so much power ouer the whole companie that serued with me) throughly to informe your selfe of as much as may suffice to satisfie your iudgement: which if thereby you shall finde contained so much as not to repent you of the trust by your fauour committed vnto me, it is the vtmost of my desire, weighing otherwise little what the vulgar conceits of such as either cannot, or will not thinke aright, shall esteeme of me: if by this true report of my seruice they will not be satisfied. For it is those that can judge, whom I desire most to content, and specially your Lordship, to whom I doe with as much truth and synceritie dedicate all other seruices which I may be able to doe, as I haue vsed in setting downe this: which I besseech you to accept as a small testimonie thereof.

Your Lordships in all deuotion:

ROBERT MANSEL.

A TRVE REPORT OF THE SERVICE DONE VPON CERTAINE Gallies passing through the Narrow Seas:

Written to the Lord high Admirall of England, by Sir ROBERT MANSEL Knight, Admirall of her Maiesties forces in that place.



AT LONDON
Printed by *Felix Kyngston*, and are to be sold by *John Newbery*, at his shop in Paules Churchyard. 1602.

A TRUE REPORT OF THE SERVICE DONE VPON CERTAINE GALLIES

PASSING THOROUGH THE NARROW SEAS

On the three and twentie day of September being in the Hope, and hauing in my company, the Aduauntage onely of the Queenes Ships, which Captaine Iones commanded, and two other Dutch men of warre: I ridde more then halfe Channell ouer, towards the coast of France, vpon a Northwest and Southwest line: my selfe being neerest that coast, Captain Iones next vnto me, and the Dutch men of warre a Sea-boord, and to the westward of him. The small force at y time present and with me remaining, thus disposed for the intercepting of the Gallies, hauing dismist the Dutch men of warre, that serued vnder me, vpon their owne intreatie to reuictual and trimme: and hauing employed the rest of the Queenes ships vpon especiall seruices, I descried from my toppe mast heads, sixe lowe sailes, which some made for Gallies; others affirmed them to be small barkes that had strooken their top-sailes, being bound from Deepe towards the Downes. To which opinion (though I inclined most) yet caused I the Maister to waie and to stand with them, that I might learne some newes of the Gallies, which by your Lordships aduertisement sent mee, I knew had either past me that night, or were neere at hand: vnlesse the Sea had swallowed them vp in the stormes, which had raged three daies before. Hauing set my selfe vnder saile, the weather waxt thicke, which caused me to mascke some two poyntes from the winde, towards the English coast, least the continuance of that darke weather might giue them power to runne out a head of me. About eleuen of the clocke the weather cleared, when I discoured them plainly to be the Spanish Gallies so long time expected; at which time with the rest, I plied to receiue them by crossing their forefoote as they stoode alongst the Channell: which they endeauored, till they perceiued that by the continuance of that course, they could not escape the power of my Ordinance. All this time these two Fliboates were betwixt them and me: and as the Slaues report that swam a shore at Douer, they determined with three Gallies to haue boorded each of those Ships, and would haue executed that resolution, but for the feare of her Maiesties great Galion (as they termed the Hope) whose force that they shunned in

that kinde (considering the disaduantage that twice sixe of the best Gallies that euer I sawe, hath by fighting against one Ship of her force) I doe as much commend, as otherwise I doe detest their shamefull working in that full of cowardlines and weakenes, they rowed backe to the westward, and spent the day by running away: in hope that the darkenes of the night would giue them libertie sufficient to shunne the onely Ship they feared, or that was in deede in the Sea at that time, to giue them cause of feare, I meane betwixt them and Dunkerke or Newport. This error onely of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceiue by the sequell. For they no sooner began that course of rowing backe againe; but I instantly made signes for Captaine Iones in the Aduantage of the Queenes, to come vnto me: whom I presentlie directed to repaire to Callis roade; and thence to send the alarme vnto the States armie prepared before Sluce: and to aduise such men of warre as kept on the coast of Flanders, vpon any other occasion, to stand off to the Sea, to meete with the Gallies in the night, which should be chased by me with my lights in my Top-mast heads, and a continuall discharging of my Ordinance. Captaine Iones hauing shapte his course according to my directions: I gaue order for hoysing and trimming of my Sales by the winde, to keepe sight of the Gallies: the two Fliboates being still a weather of me, did the like. Which chase we held till sunne setting, obseruing this course following all the day. They being a weather of me, kept their continuall boords, that the Gallies were alwaies betwixt them. And my selfe being to Leeward, made such short turnes, as I kept all the afternoone in a manner, euen in the very eye of their course, betwixt them and the place of their desseigne: euer discharging my best Ordinance to warne the Answere of her Maiesties, that ridde by my directions at the Downes, vpon important seruice as your Lordship knoweth: and the Flemmings that were there, hauing left the Sea vppon vnknowne groundes to me (yet sent from Portsmouth, by the most prouident direction of her sacred Maiestie, to awaite the comming of the Gallies, vpon aduertisements that her Highnes receiued of their being put to Sea) to set saile, who else had received no vnderstanding of the Gallies: neither came they within shot of them, till after night, howsoeuer the reputation of the seruice is wholy challenged by them.

Hauing giuen your Lordship an account how this day was thus spent by me, from eyght of the clocke vntill the euening, and with these onely helpes: I beseech your Lordships to be pleased to vnderstand, that with the setting of the Sunne, I could bothe discerne the Ships last mentioned vnder sayle at the Downes, and the Gallies to haue set their sayles: directing their course close aboord our shore, each of them being out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to haue been left by the Gallies to a sterne chase. When

I perceiued them to holde that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answere, and the rest that were in the Downes: I held a cleane contrary course from them, towards the coast of France, to confirme the secure passage they thought to finde on our coast, which I continued, vntill the report of their battery gaue me assurance of the Gallies being engaged vnto them.

How the batterie began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the seruice is due, I leaue to be considered by your Lordship, by the perusall of the true discourse following.

The Answere of the Queenes, which Captaine Bredgate commanded, as she rid more Southerly at the Downes then the Flemmings, so came she first to the Gallies, and bestowed 28. pecces of Ordinance on them before the Flemmings came in, who at length seconded him with very many shot. During this batterie of ours vpon the Gallies, (which I so terme, because they never exchanged one shot) at the very first report of the Answers Ordinance, I directed the Master of my ship to beare vp with the South end of the Goodwin, with which directions I deliuered my reasons publikely, as I stood on the poope of my ship, viz. That if I stood directly in to them, the Gallies, before I could recouer the place, would either be driuen a shore or sunke, and so would there proue no neede of my force; or els by their nimble sayling they would escape the ships, of whom (once getting a head) they could receiue no impediment: for there was no one shippe but the Aduantage in the sea that could hinder them to recouer any port in Flanders or the East Countries (Sluce onely excepted) vnlesse I staied them at that sand head.

Hauing recoured as neere that place as I desired, I staied at least a quarter of an houre, before I could either see the Gallies, heare or see any of those Ships, their lights, or report of their Ordinance, which made me and all my companie held opinion that they had outsailed the Answere and the rest of the Flemmings, and shunned sight of me by going a seaboord of my ship: which I so verely beleeued, as I once directly determined to saile for Sluce, with hope onely that the preparation which I knew the States had there, would be able to preuent their entrance into that place.

Whilst I remained thus doubtfull, or rather hopelesse to hinder their recouerie of Dunkerke or Newport, in case they had a seaboord of me, some of my companie descried a single Gallie plying from the shore to get a head of my shippe. When she approched within Caliuer shot, I Discharged aboue thirtie peeces of Ordinance of my lower & vpper tyre at her alone, my selfe with many other in my ship saw when her maineyard was shot asunder, heard the report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most pitifull outcries: which when I perceiued to continue, and in steed of making

way from me, to neere me what she could: I forbare shooting, and commanded one that spake the Portugall language, to tell them that I was contented to receiue them into mercie: which I would accordingly haue performed, had not the other fiue Gallies offered to stand out a head of me at that very instant, and thereby would haue left me as they had done both the first two Dutch shippes, and afterwards the Answere with the rest of the Flemmings, had I omitted any small time of executing the aduantage I had of their being on my broad side, which as appeares was so effectually employed (howsoeuer the night wherein this seruice was performed, might hinder the particular mention of their hurts) as none can denie but that God pleased thereby onely to work their confusion. For since that time none hath said or can speake of any one shot made towards them: yet foure of them are sunke and wracked, the fift past doing the enemie seruice: and the sixt they are forced to new build at Dunkerke, where (if I bee not much deceiued) she will prooue more chargeable then profitable, if the fault rest not in our selues.

The disagreement betweene the Dutch Captaines themselues touching the stemming and sinking of the Gallies (whereof one challenged before your Lordship, and in many other publike places, to haue stemmed and sunke two himselfe) and the printed Pamphlet containing the stemming and sinking of three Gallies, gieuth the reputation thereof to three seuerall Captaines, amongst whom no mention is made of the first: and whereas there are but two in all sunke; I leaue to be reconciled amongst themselues, and to your Lordship, whether that the fame of right appertaineth not to her Maiesties Ship the Hope, in respect of the allegations before mentioned, euery particular whereof being to be prooued by the oathes of my whole Companie, and maintained with the hazard of my life with that which followeth.

1. As the shooting of the single Gallies mainyard asunder, my bestowing aboue thirtie peeces of Ordinance vpon that one Gallie, within lesse then Caliuer shot.

2. That they in the Galley made many lamentable outcries for my receiuing them vnto mercie.

3. That I would accordinglie haue receiued them, but for giuing them ouer to encounter with the other fiue Gallies, which els had left me to a sterne chase.

To these reasons I adde the assertions of the Viceadmirall himselfe, who tolde me (whatsoeuer he spake in other places) that one of the Gallies, which he stemmed, had her mainyard shot asunder before his comming aboord her: by whomsoeuer she was then stemmed, your Lordship may iudge, who ruin'd her, considering she made no resistance, by his owne report, but by crying to him for mercie.

Touching the other Gallie stemmed and sunke, I haue alreadie proued how she (as all the rest) had got ahead the Answere of the Queenes not named, and the rest of the States men of warre with her, who challenge the whole credit of this seruice: They (as all other Sea-men) cannot denie, but that the Gallies will outsaile all Ships, in such a loome gale of winde and smooth sea, as wee had that night.

The gallies being then quicker of saile then they, how could they by any meanes possible fetch them vp, but by some impediment? Impediment they receiued none, but by my Ordinance: which amounted to fiftie great shot at those fiue which came last from the shoare, when al the ships were aboue a mile a sterne.

Some notwithstanding out of their detracting dispositions may perchaunce say, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would haue perished by storme, though they had not been battered. Whereto though I haue sufficiently answered, first in shewing that they might haue recouered any of the places thereabouts before 8. of the clock that night but for me; and then the second time before the morning, had they not been encountred by me alone, at the South-sand head; yet for further proofe that they miscarried by our batterie onely, I say that if one of the Gallies which receiued least damage by our Ordinance did outliue Fridaies storme, continuing till Saterday noone, being driuen among the Islands of Zealand to recouer Callis, then surely those two (vnles they had been exceedingly torne) would haue made shift to haue recouered the Ports of Newport, Graueling or Dunkerke: especially sith from the place where I battered them, they might haue bin at the remotest of those places about foure houres before any storme began. But such seemed their haste to saue their liues, as their thought ranne of a shoare, and not of a harbour.

Now that I haue deliuered vnto your Lordship the whole and true discourse of this businesse, I shall forbeare to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night and next daies spending my time (though the same in their chase had like to haue cost her Maiestie her Ship, & the liues of as many as were in her) and coclude with admiration of their not holding her Maiesties ships, nor I (her unworthiest seruant) and then and yet by her Highnes grace and your Lordships fauor, Admiral of the forces in that place, are not once mentioned: especially sith the sixe Gallies might safely haue arriued before seaven of the clock that night at any of the Ports of Flaunders to the Westward of Ostend. And that the Dutch shippes had not come from an anchor in the Downes, but for the signes they receiued from me. Then that the force of her Maiesties Shippe, wherein I was enforced them to keepe close aboord the English shoare, whereby those Shippes in the Downes had power

giuen them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Answere of the Queenes.

And lastly, sith the Gallies escaped their battery, and had gotten a head those Shippes, aboue a mile at least, and neuer receiued any impediment after, but onely by me, who lingered them (as you haue heard) vntill the comming vp of those Ships that challenge to stemme them: which being granted, I cannot see how any other credit can rightly be giuen them (for that stemme I meane) then to a lackey for pillaging of that dead bodie which his master had slaine.

Although this be a very true report of that which was done in this seruice, and be a thing very plausible to all that are well affected to ye good successe of her Maiesties affaires: yet should it not haue mooued me much who were esteemed to haue been the chiefe actor in so good a worke, or to whom any augmentation of credit might grow thereby, were it not that I haue found some, who (I denie not) haue had their part in the seruice, haue been so farre transported with the opinion of their owne desert therein, as they haue not let in setting forth their owne commendation, to cast a satire vpon other mens, who had a greater part in the worke then themselues, as may appeare by the report aboue recited. Which notwithstanding should the lesse trouble me, if the touch thereof did reach only to my selfe as a priuate gentleman: but seeing the imputation, as it may be gathered in a Pamphlet printed, containing a report of that seruice, wherein no mention at all is made either of me, or of any other her Maiesties seruants or Ships, or of any of our nation, doth derogate not onely from my selfe, but in some sort from the diligence and vigilancie of al publike ministers of her Maiesties Nauie: it behoued me to haue so much sense of mine and their reputations, as by a true report of the thing (as indeed it was done) to redeeme the slander that in some mens conceits (whose eares are quicke enough to receiue ill impressions of publike officers) might bee easily laid vpon vs. For which onely cause is this report puolished. For how little respect I had to affect reputation to my selfe by publishing any report of that which had passed in this seruice, may appeare by this one circumstance: that as soone as I had presented my selfe to your Lordship, and Master Secretarie at the Court at Oatelands, and bin by your Honors presented to her Maiestie, and made report of that which had passed: my first suite was to be licensed to goe into the countrie (as your Honor can well witnes) whither I immediately repaired attending my owne busines, and from thence returned but very lately, without any thought or purpose of declaiming my owne actions, or of any other thing, more then of returning to my charge, vntill comming to the Citie I found euery mans mouth full of an injurious report of that seruice, and likewise a Pamphlet printed by the procurement of

some who had had to do in that seruice, which did confirme the misconceit thereof. Wherefore I haue been constrained to doe that, which otherwise (as I haue said is not agreeable to my nature, that is, to speake of my selfe). But I shall be herein the more to be excused, because the matter doth concerne me not onely as a priuate person, but as a publike seruant of the State: towards which it becommeth me to make cleere all actions wherewith I am put in trust. For which respect I must also adde this much more; that if any man will take exception to any point of that which I haue here aboue vpon so good consideration set doewn: I would haue him vnderstand that I haue not lightly put foorth this report, as a blast to fill mens eares: but so aduisedly, that at all times I will be readie to maintaine and iustifie the truth thereof, in such sort as becommeth a Gentleman professing Armes; and bearing the charge, which by her Maiesties fauour I doe, to iustifie anything, which he taketh vpon the hazard of his reputation to report. And in assurance thereof I haue to this report set my hand, and published it in my name.

ROBERT MANSEL.

Thos. Phelippes, writing to Sir Robert Cecil, February 16, 1603, says: "Some trusty person should be sent under colour of treating for the exchange of the English that are in the galleys for Spaniards here. There are 40 unredeemed, one of whom, called Mansell, says he is a kinsman of Sir Robert Mansell." (Calendar of State Papers, 1601-1603, p. 291.)

It is not clear how these Englishmen came to be in the galleys, *i.e.*, prisoners in Spain, awaiting exchange; nor is it possible to establish the identity of this Mansell who is mentioned; it may have been one of Sir Robert's numerous brothers.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of James I., ambassadors arrived, as is customary, to offer congratulations to the new monarch.

Sir Robert Mansel, as Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was directed, together with his vice-admiral, Sir Jerome Turner, to bring over the French and Spanish representatives respectively from Calais and Gravelines. Sir Robert despatched Turner to Calais, while he went to Gravelines; but the French ambassador, arriving at Calais, and finding the vice-admiral instead of Sir Robert to receive him, conceived that he was being slighted, and refusing Sir Jerome's offices, embarked on board a passenger boat, hoisting the French

flag. This, however, was not in the programme, and Turner immediately sent to Mansel for instructions. Sir Robert sent word that if the Frenchman refused to strike the flag, Turner was to sink him. Sir Robert, in fact, encountered the French ship on his way over from Gravelines, and enforced his order at the cannon's mouth. There was naturally a considerable disturbance over this business, the French king protesting strongly. Sir Robert was, however, upheld by King James, "and was better beloved of his master ever after, to his dying day." [1]

In November, 1603, Sir Robert was again brought into contact with one of his former chiefs who had got into trouble, being escort to Sir Walter Raleigh when he was sent from London to Winchester for his trial.[2]

On April 20 in the following year, Mansel was granted the post of Treasurer of the Navy, on the resignation of Sir Fulke Greville, who had held the appointment for five and a half years. Why Greville resigned does not appear; in the Dictionary of National Biography he is said to have "worked vigorously" in his office; but possibly he had realised that no amount of energy would serve to stem the tide of corruption and jobbery which at that time disgraced the naval administration.

For some six or seven years matters had been going from bad to worse; Nottingham, the lord high admiral, was getting old—he was then sixty-eight—and it is extremely doubtful whether, from an administrative point of view, he was ever the man for the post. He was a very good man, of course, when it came to fighting, but in time of inaction he was more of a courtier and queen's favourite than an administrator. Elizabeth would have him hanging about her—choosing horses for her, and what not; and eventually, when she was dying, he was the only man to whose ministrations she would attend with any patience. But he had not been attending to the duties of his post, which, nevertheless, he continued to hold for fifteen years longer; neither had Elizabeth displayed, during these latter years,

[1] "Secret History of the Court of James I.," by Sir Anthony Weldon. Vol. i., p. 337.

[2] Dict. Nat. Biog.

that keen interest in her navy which, discounted though it was by her constitutional parsimony, her unwillingness to "pay the piper," had caused England to be respected and feared afloat.

Sir Robert Mansel thus entered, in his new and honourable office, upon a heritage of untold difficulty and immense responsibility—that is to say, if he aspired to the reform of abuses, and the honest and business-like conduct of affairs.

Certainly there was corruption and intrigue in other departments of State; but the condition of the Navy in this respect is what has to be dealt with here; and it was no secret.

Captain John Norreys, writing to Sir John Coke in 1603, says: "To say truth the whole body is so corrupted as there is no sound part almost from the head to the foot; the great ones feed on the less and enforce them to steal both for themselves and their commanders." [1]

A "new broom" who should essay the cleansing of such an Augean stable would inevitably find himself the object of the bitterest hatred, and probably of the grossest calumny.

Mansel, however, was appointed to this office, as we are told in the Calendar of State Papers, for his life; and being then only thirty-one years of age, he had plenty of time before him, in all human probability, in which to set his official house in order. We shall see in due course how he fared in this unenviable task.

In March, 1605, the Earl of Nottingham, who had in the previous year been deputed to arrange the terms of peace with Spain, was sent as ambassador extraordinary to ratify and conclude the reconciliation; and among those whom he selected to accompany him upon this weighty mission was Sir Robert Mansel.

This embassage was said to be the most splendid affair ever known; Nottingham had almost *carte blanche* in the matter of outlay, and greatly impressed the Spaniards by his fine presence, the number and rich apparel, etc., of his retinue, and the munificence of his gifts.

The treaty was signed at Valladolid, where there were great

[1] Coke MSS., Hist. MSS., Com. Report, xii. App., pt. i., p. 45.

entertainments given in honour of Nottingham and his company; and here, according to the story told by Sir Anthony Weldon, there were rumours circulated that some of the English guests were helping themselves to silver flagons, dishes, etc., at table. Sir Anthony relates in what manner Sir Robert Mansel vindicated himself and his fellow-countrymen:[1]

"Sir Robert Mansel, who was a man born to vindicate the honour of his nation, as his own; being Vice-Admiral, and a man on whom the old Admiral wholly relied; having despatched the ships to begone the next morning, came in very late to supper.

"Sir Richard Levison, sitting at the upper end of the table, amongst the grandees, the Admiral himself not supping that night, being upon the Despatch of Letters, upon Sir Robert Mansel's entrance, offered to rise to give him place, but he sate down instantly at the lower end and would not let any man stir, and falling to his meat, did espy a Spaniard, as the dishes emptied, ever putting some in his bosom, some in his breeches, that they both strutted. Sir Robert Mansel sent a message to the upper end of the table, to Sir Robert Levison, to be delivered in his ear; that whatsoever he should see him do, he should desire the gentlemen and grandees to sit quiet, for there should be no cause of any disquiet. On the sudden, Sir Robert Mansel steps up and takes the Spaniard in his arms, at which the table began to rise—Sir Richard Levison quiets them—brings him up to the end amongst the grandees, there pulls out the plate from his bosom, breeches, and every part about him, which did so amaze the Spaniard, and vindicate that aspersion cast upon our nation, that never after was there any such syllable heard, but all honour done to the nation, and all thanks to him in particular.

"From thence next day, they went to Madrid, where all the royal entertainment Spain could yield, was given them; and at the end of the grand entertainment and revels, which held most part of the night, as they were all returning to their lodgings, the street being

[1] "Secret History of the Court of James I." Vol. i., p. 354 *et seq.* The story is given for what it is worth; very likely it is true, but Weldon would write down any tale he heard, and it is impossible to accept all his gossip as fact. He says, among other things, that "The Spaniards were astonished at the bravery of our embassy, and the handsome gentlemen, for, you must understand, the jesuits reported our nation to be ugly, and like devils, as a punishment to our nation for casting off the Pope's Supremacy; and they pictured Sir Francis Drake, generally, half a man, half a dragon"—a rigmarole of nonsense. It would appear that the magnificence of Nottingham's *entourage* did not escape a certain amount of ridicule in some quarters, for Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, mentions that one Stone, a fool or jester, had been whipped for saying: "That there want sixty fools into Spain, besides my Lord Admiral and his two sons." ("Winwood's Memorials." Vol. iii., p. 52.)

made light by white wax lights, and the very night forced into a day of shineing light, as they were passing on the street, a Spaniard catcheth off Sir Robert Mansel's hat, with a very rich Jewel in it, and away he flies; Sir Robert not being of a spirit to have any thing violently taken from him, nor of such a court-like compliment to part with a Jewel at that price, to one not better acquainted with him, hurls open the boot, follows the fellow, and some three gentlemen did follow him, to secure him; houseth the fellow in the house of an Alguazil, which is a great officer or judge in Spain. This officer, wondering at the manner of their coming, the one without his hat and sword in his hand, the others with all their swords, demands the cause; they tell him; he saith, surely none can think his house a sanctuary, who is to punish such offenders. But Sir Robert Mansel would not be so put off with the Spaniard's gravity, but enters the house, leaving two at the gate, to see that none should come out whiles he searched. A long time they could find nothing, and the Alguazil urging this as an affront; at last, looking down into a well of a small depth, he saw the fellow stand up to his neck in water, Sir Robert Mansel seized on his hat and Jewel, leaving the fellow to the Alguazil, but he had much rather have fingered the Jewel; and his gravity told Sir Robert Mansel, he could not have it without form of law, which Sir Robert dispensed with, carrying away his hat and Jewel, and never heard further of the buisness."

These were some of the little diversions which enlivened the business of the Embassy. Sir Robert Mansel was probably a man of big physique, and imbued with the conviction that one Englishman was equal to three of any other nationality, so he collared the Spaniard and shook the stolen silver out of him—quite a good thing to do under the circumstances; probably the matter would not have been cleared up satisfactorily in any other fashion; and as to the story of the jewel in his hat—well, we may take it with the other, on the authority of Sir Anthony Weldon, and congratulate Sir Robert on the recovery of his property.

On his return from Spain Sir Robert busied himself with the affairs of his new office; before he went, immediately after his appointment, we find various sums of money paid to him by the lord treasurer; and in 1606 he and Sir John Trevor, who was surveyor of the Navy, recommend Captain Christopher Newport for the reversion of the office of one of the principal masters of the Navy, which is granted without demur.

In this year also Sir Robert Mansel was present, in his official capacity, when King James paid a visit to Rochester and Chatham, together with his brother-in-law, Christian IV., King of Denmark, the queen, and Prince Henry.

The party arrived at Rochester on Saturday, August 9, the King of Denmark lodging at the house of Sir Peter Bucke, while King James was the guest of the Bishop of Rochester—William Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, a chaplain and favourite of Queen Elizabeth—and the queen and Prince Henry had other lodgings provided for them. The royal party duly attended service at the Cathedral on the following morning, and the remainder of Sunday was spent in viewing the ships of the Navy in the Medway, and feasting on board one of them. After dinner "the Kinges tooke their barges, accompanied with the Queene, Prince, and noblemen, and rowed on towards Chatham, where they had sight of all the ships, which were rich in ensigns, pendants, flags and streamers; and withall, so furnished with goodly men as might joy their majesties to behold; all which made so glorious a show, that might well amaze the mind of a man to thinke on, being a friende, but terrifie the heart of the proudest enemie to see it." ("Archæologica Cantiana," vol. vi., p. 56.)

Meanwhile, notwithstanding this display, the administration of the Navy was by no means improving, and various persons of standing and importance were stirring up some agitation about it.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, cousin to Nottingham, is said to have been most active in urging enquiry and reform: and his solicitude is stated by some court gossips and others to have been due to his bitter hatred of Sir Robert Mansel, who held such an important post in connection with the Navy.

This may or may not be true; Northampton was not really a public-spirited man, nor was he in most respects an admirable character: he was vain, selfish, and unscrupulous; a learned man, and a great orator, but an inveterate intriguer, and a gross flatterer when he had his own aims in view.

However, he appears to have been the moving spirit in the matter of bringing about the appointment of a commission to enquire into the state of the Navy, and as such enquiry was, beyond all doubt,

very badly needed, there is no reason for withholding from him the credit of the initiation.

In February, 1608, before the king issued the patent for the commission, there appears the following in the Calendar of State Papers: "Account of the fraudulent conduct of Sir John Trevor, Sir Robert Mansel, and Phineas Pett, in freighting the ship *Resistance* from the King's stores, in March, 1605, selling the goods for their own gain, and then claiming wages, etc., for their voyage, as though she had gone on the King's service."

On April 30 ensuing the commission was appointed, and consisted of the following: The Earl of Northampton (president), the Earl of Nottingham, Edward Lord Zouche, Edward Lord Wotton, Sir Julius Cæsar (chancellor of the Exchequer), Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Phillips, Sir John Doderidge, Sir Henry Hobart (attorney-general), Sir Francis Bacon (solicitor-general), Sir William Wade (lieutenant of the Tower), Sir Christopher Parkins, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Thomas Compton, and John Corbet, Esquire, one of the clerks of the Privy Council.

The commission, with three as a quorum, had full powers to call before it and examine on oath any person, high or low, whom it might be deemed advisable to summon, whether connected with the Navy or otherwise; also to have access to all books and accounts of departments in the Navy.

The enquiry lasted for thirteen months, from May 7, 1608, to June 8, 1609; and the report presented by the commission is by no means pleasant reading, from any point of view.

It is especially unwelcome with regard to this present memoir, in that it embodies some very serious accusations against Sir Robert Mansel, in his official capacity, which it is impossible to pass over or to rebut; indeed, it cannot be said that Sir Robert himself made any attempt to rebut or disprove them.

The report opens with a summary of the proceedings, from which we learn that the enquiry was inaugurated with a long oration from the Earl of Northampton. This was inevitable; Northampton never lost a chance of "orating," which he appeared thoroughly to enjoy; though whether his audience found much

pleasure in his long-winded and stilted effusions may well be questioned.[1]

The summary contains a large number of recommendations based upon the revelations embodied in the evidence of witnesses; details of abuses in the department of the surveyor and controller of the Navy, as well as in that of the treasurer; *exempli gratia*: Abuses in the sale of decayed provisions and stores; in the levying of discount on accounts paid by the treasurer; in the traffic in desirable posts in the Navy; embezzlement by superior officers; in the survey of tonnage; in repairs of ships; in the purveying of timber; in the rating of boys on the books as shipwrights; in the false reports of surveys upon ships laid up in ordinary; and so on—a depressing indictment, including the acceptance of bribes by the treasurer and surveyor from contractors

After pointing out the misdoings of the controller, the report proceeds:

"Having thus perfected the model of a just and true Controller, which before was stained with many blemishes, it now behoves us to purge the charge and function of the Treasurer which (as it hath been shamefully abused in these last years) surmounts the other both in perilous invention and sly execution, how cunningly soever the devices seem to be muzzled, with the maske of their chief favourite."

Avoiding the somewhat tedious verbiage of the report, the charges against the treasurer may be summarised as follows:

That he caused blanks to be left in the amounts of various stores mentioned in the certificates prepared by the clerk of the cheque, so that he could fill in larger quantities than were actually supplied, and pocket the difference; and that with the money thus obtained he purchased and supplied stores himself, thus becoming purveyor as well as treasurer, and profiting largely by the business.

That he so manipulated the charges for timber and plank as to involve the payment of such charges thrice over for the same goods.

[1] Northampton was engaged to deliver a speech at the trial of Father Garnett, the Jesuit, in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, and his oration covers twenty-one pages of double column and close type in Hargreave's State Trials—a huge folio volume.

That he withheld payment of sums due to contractors, etc., until they "pleased" him and his clerk with what is termed "palm oil"; in one instance John Hadsall was compelled to pay a fine of ten per cent. on the total of his account; another paid £30 to the treasurer's clerk, and yet another was charged by this same clerk £40 per annum in consideration of his tender for pitch and tar being accepted. The report adds, alluding to the clerk, Wells by name: "who is the trusty Roger in all these jugglings."

The treasurer is further accused of manipulating his books, erasing and altering entries, so as to make the money supplied by the lord treasurer for one year appear in the accounts of another, and by this means to have kept in hand during two years the total sum of £14,000, which he used for his own "bargains"; he is not accused of actually appropriating this large sum, but of withholding payments indefinitely in order that he might have the use of it, together with the surveyor; and the clause concludes as follows: "But if they dare affirm that their end was for the good of the King's service, then let them shew one bargain made by advantage of this money while it rested in their hands, whereby the King received the least benefit."

It is also pointed out that, through "the weakness of the Controller and the cunning of the Surveyor," the former was induced to sign the vouchers "at the volley," *i.e.*, as a whole, and without scrutiny of their import, "to shun the displeasure of great persons"; and that the Clerk of the Navy acknowledged that, after he had upon one occasion taken exception to the excessive demands, he was "excluded from being privy to the greatest part of the rates, or subscribing to their certificates. Therefore it remains that the Surveyor's rates were only rated at his own will, and so passed the partial (or self-interested) account of his confederate the Treasurer."

Then there is the selling of old or decayed stores to persons especially favoured, for much less than their proper value; and in one instance a ship which was the part property of the treasurer and surveyor was furnished with the rigging of the *Foresight*, which Phineas Pett bought for only £12; "and as by other depositions it appears that this ship of theirs was built with the King's timber, so

likewise in this place it is plain that she was sailed with the King's sails, and rigged with the King's tackling." [1]

During the treasurership of Sir John Hawkins, he made an arrangement with the purveyors of various stores that a deduction of threepence in the pound (or 1¼ per cent.) should be made, on condition that they were paid down on the nail, whether the money had been lodged with the treasurer or not; the present treasurer, however, takes off the discount, and keeps them waiting an indefinite time for their money.

In the matter of sixpence per month deducted from wages for the "Chatham Chest," a fund instituted for the relief of poor and disabled seamen and their families, "though the Treasurer doth receive this money at all pays, yet will he neither deliver it into the hands of those persons that by the first institution were put in trust, nor render an account for the settlement of the certain trust, but falls presently into raging passions and pangs when they call for it."

Finally, it is plainly stated that "the King for his part (since the entering of this Treasurer) hath never been satisfied in that particular and precise manner that was ever fit for the service."

This is a formidable indictment; nor can it be solely ascribed to the rancour of Northampton or any other person, for the sworn depositions are all given *in extenso* in State documents.[2]

There are one or two points which are worthy of note concerning the constitution and conduct of this commission.

In the first place, it is remarkable that the Earl of Nottingham should have been placed upon it, seeing that he was the head of the service which was on its trial: for the inquisition was ordered for the

[1] Phineas Pett was apprenticed at the age of twenty to Richard Chapman, master shipwright at Deptford: thence he went afloat as carpenter's mate, and was then employed in Woolwich dockyard. Afterwards, at Chatham, he attracted the favourable attention of Charles, Lord Howard, and in June, 1600, he was given a good post at Chatham, with the promise of advancement. In 1605 he was made master shipwright at Deptford, and two years later at Woolwich, which post he held for many years, and was in great favour with the Earl of Nottingham and all the officials—"and was, in consequence, hated and intrigued against by their enemies and his own, of which, as a successful man, he had many." (Dict. Nat. Biog.)

[2] The Report of the Commission is to be found in State Papers, Domestic, James I., vol. xli., in the Record Office: the depositions in Cotton MSS., Julius F. III., in the British Museum.

purpose of enquiring into the whole administration of the Navy, not merely concerning the conduct of this or that official.

Nottingham possibly did not fail to recognise the incongruity of his inclusion in the commission, for apparently he never put in an appearance at any of the sessions.

The depositions are all signed by the members of the commission present; there was always a much more numerous attendance than the stipulated quorum of three. Northampton's signature comes first in every instance, and the other members most constant in their attendance were Lord Zouche, Lord Wotton, Sir Edward Phillips, Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Christopher Parkins; the Earl of Nottingham's signature never appears.

Another curious feature of the affair is that, although the commission, in the Royal Warrant—which is given in full in the State Paper—had powers to call before it every official, high and low, in the naval service, the treasurer, controller, and surveyor being specifically mentioned, neither Sir Robert Mansel nor either of his colleagues was ever so called, either to give evidence or to offer any explanation or defence of his conduct. Had they been summoned, they could not have refused to appear; had they expressed the desire of appearing in their own defence, it is impossible to believe that they would have been refused a hearing.

The only recorded instance in which Sir Robert Mansel made any kind of reply, or offered an explanation, is contained in a letter from him to the Earl of Northampton; it is dated from Chanon Ree (Cannon Row?) May 16, 1608, while the commission was sitting:

"Right honourable and my very good Lord; Whereas it hath pleased your Lordship and other His Majesty's Commissioners to require me to bring before you such bills, letters, and directions as I have either in my custody or theirs that serve under me touching the imprest of £500 to Dan. Lyle and Esaye [Esau?] Whittille, and likewise for the payment of the ship's company called the *Resistance*, I have in performance thereof (according to my humble duty) made bold herein enclosed wherewith to present unto your Lordship all kind of material writings that are or have been at any time in my office, touching either of those two points, except the bill of imprest for £500, which Mr. Wells delivered back to Sir John Trevor, upon his receipt of so many bills signed by all the three officers as served

for my discharge. Herewith for the preservation of my poor esteem, reputation, and good opinion with your Lordship (which I hold much dearer than my life), I do in all humbleness beseech your Lordship to vouchsafe the reading of these ensuing lines, which contain the manner of my subscription to the first direction, the reasons why I dissented from him in opinion (as appears by the postscript written at the instant with my own hand), and the reasons why I suffered and consented the charge of the ship's freight and company to be afterwards wholly borne by His Majesty.

"At the sight of the enclosed letter tendered me, by Sir John Trevor himself in Portsmouth upon the return from Spain, written and signed with his own hand, I subscribed thereunto without reading of it, whereupon he made the contents known unto me, which I held so strange, as I demanded his reasons; he answered that he believed so much in Phineas Pett's [the word here is partially obliterated and illegible] as he would not have returned without finding out (?) according to his directions, unless some merchants has freighted him back into England, which being so there was no reason to charge His Majesty, which reason I gave allowance of so far forth as the freight reached unto, and accordingly resolved, as your Lordship may perceive in my postscript that we should jointly undergo the charges so far forth as was reasonable.

"But when I came to London, and found she had performed her directions in seeking of my Lord, and returned without any kind of ladings, I never entertained further thought of making His Majesty any allowances, but hastened presently upon my return to make payment unto Sir Thomas Bludder of such sums of money as were exchanged me in Spain for the sale of the breade (?) laden into her. Thus hoping of a fitter opportunity to give your Lordship more full satisfactions than either duty or time will at this instant give me leave, I most humbly beseech your Lordship's pardon for my tediousness, and rest,

"Your Lordship's most ready to be commanded,
"ROBERT MANSELL."

The enclosed letter of which this purports to be an explanation is dated from Portsmouth, either June 9 or 29, 1605, but it is not clear to whom it is addressed:

"We understand from Phineas Pett that our and his ship is arrived on the coast, and we hope by this time is come to London. For saving of charge we pray you lose no time to quit away the men and to pay them according to His Majesty's rates as savingly as you can without giving meet cause of discontment to the company, for

that the charge will light on us, and so to retain on board her without Mr. Pett's and the Mrs. or Mr. Gibon's privity some honest man to be shipkeeper in her: and so we rest

"Your loving friends,
"ROBERT MANSELL, JOHN TREVOR."

"The greatest part of her charges is to be borne by the King, by reason of her employment as you know in his service; the remainder in all likelihood is to light as above largely on ourselves."

The postscript is obviously in Sir Robert's own handwriting; and below, in different ink, and in an almost illegible hand, is a statement to the effect that this letter was written in the presence of certain persons, to wit: Wm. St. John, Thos. Button, John Jackson, E. Wells, Elis. Flud (?), and Thomas Mansell—probably Sir Robert Mansel's eldest brother, Sir Thomas.

This evidently has reference to the same episode as is mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers, already quoted, wherein Sir Robert Mansel, Sir John Trevor, and Phineas Pett are accused of freighting the ship *Resistance* from the king's stores, etc.: the letter plainly identifies this ship as the joint property of the three—"our and his ship"—and it appears that she started on her voyage in March, 1605, and returned three months later.

Sir Robert's explanation is not very informing, nor can it be accepted as satisfactory; the letter, drawn up by Sir John Trevor, and addressed to some person or persons whose names do not appear, is evidently intended to convey some meaning which is not plain on the surface, but which Sir Robert Mansel comprehended. "Mrs." and "Mr. Gibons" are obscure; possibly the former was Pett's wife.

It is not easy to see how the postscript in any sense exonerates Sir Robert, nor is his letter to the Earl of Northampton that of a man secure in the consciousness of his own rectitude.

The Report of the Commission constitutes a drastic condemnation of the administration of the Navy in every department, together with a strong impeachment of Sir Robert Mansel and other officials individually; it is based upon the sworn evidence of a large number of persons of whom it would be altogether unreasonable and absurd to assume that they were all actuated by animus against the

treasurer or surveyor, or that their depositions were, in the bulk, false or garbled—they may have been so in some instances, but as a whole the thick book of evidence must be accepted as containing a true and sincere account of the facts, and as adequate ground upon which to base the Report.

The fact that none of the principal officials were called upon by the Commission to give evidence certainly tends in some measure to reflect upon its procedure; it conveys the impression that they were in some degree condemned in advance, and would not be accepted as reliable witnesses; and if it be true, as is stated by court gossips, that Northampton had for some reason contracted a deadly hatred of Mansel, it is not inconceivable that an intriguing and domineering individual, such as Northampton undoubtedly was, might have deliberately refrained from calling Mansel before the Commission, in order to prevent him from defending himself where he was able to do so. The hypothesis is put forward for what it is worth; the fact remains that neither Mansel nor Trevor made any real attempt to justify himself.

As an offset against this official condemnation there are extant the views of sundry contemporary court gossips, to wit, Sir Anthony Weldon,[1] and Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester.

Sir Anthony Weldon, speaking of the Earl of Northampton, says that he was "of so venemous and cankered a disposition, that indeed he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but flatterers like himself; yet it was a great question whether he hated the Earl of Carlisle or Sir Robert Mansell most, by whom he hath been heard to say: 'I will be content to be damned perpetually in hell to be revenged of that proud Welshman'; and did so hate him, that he kept an inquisition on him seven years, to prove that he had cousened the King of fourteen thousand pounds, which, at the seven years end, at an hearing before the King, the lords, the Queen, and all the ladies

[1] Sir Anthony Weldon was "Clerk of the Green Cloth," a sort of domestic board of justice in the royal household, having jurisdiction in all matters affecting the household, and also power to deal with offenders against the peace within the palace precincts, and for two hundred yards beyond the gates. Sir Anthony was also "Clerk of the Kitchen"; the two offices had been held respectively by his father and uncle, and apparently he succeeded to both.

being present, with all the gallantry of the court, ended in one pair of silk stockings, given by one for a New Year's gift to Master Wells, Sir Robert Mansell's servant; at which the King stood up, and sware very deeply: 'Do you believe I will take a pair of silk stockings for my fourteen thousand pounds? Give me that, give me that. Is this all the fruit of seven years commission?' At which words Sir Robert Mansell kneeled down and said, 'I will now, Sir, take all the faults they can charge my servant with upon myself'; at which the King was very angry, that so noble a gentleman, who had so well acquitted himself, and honour, should intrust it in the keeping of a servant. At the end of all, the Earl of Salisbury kneeled down and said, 'Sir, if you will suffer malice so far to prevail as to have your honest servants traduced to satisfy the humours of any, I beseech you take my staff, for were myself and the Earl of Worcester, here present, put in the balance against Sir Robert Mansell, we should prove too light; I am in a great place, and cannot say, but by myself or servants, I may fail, yet not with our own wills; therefore, Sir, if you will suffer such inquisitions, there will be no serving your majesty in such places as I hold, by your majesty's favour.' Thus ended the Earl of Northampton's malice, which only served to honour Sir Robert Mansell, and make a scorn of himself." [1]

This is a very circumstantial story, by a contemporary who was about the court in virtue of his duties; but there is no official evidence whatever of any such seven years' inquisition, or of the farce of the stockings. Sir Robert Mansel had, as we have seen, been accused, upon sworn depositions, of keeping fourteen thousand pounds of the public money in hand for his own purposes (but not of "cousening" the king out of it, *i.e.*, stealing it); and he had not thought fit to defend himself against the charge. However, here is Sir Anthony Weldon's word that Northampton hated him bitterly, and schemed for his disgrace, and it is impossible to set aside such testimony, or to avoid the corollary, that the appointment of

[1] Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, and Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester. Cecil was appointed Secretary of State by Elizabeth in 1598, and confirmed in this office by James I. Somerset also held offices of responsibility under both monarchs. This account is to be found in "Secret History of the Court of King James I.," vol. i., pp. 333-335.

Northampton as president of the Commission was a most unfortunate circumstance for Mansel.

Godfrey Goodman, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, scarcely comes under the category of court gossip, for it does not appear that he was much about the court; he was, however, undoubtedly intimate with those who were, and seems to have been familiar with all the *on dits* which were in circulation concerning persons in high places, from the king downwards.

Goodman has something to say about Northampton's hatred of the Earl of Carlisle, and of Sir Robert Mansel, but not quite in the same vein as Sir Anthony Weldon's remarks.

"For the rising of the Earl of Carlisle,[1] surely he was a very comely and a good-natured gentleman, very beautiful . . . and if Northampton did so much hate him, certainly it was that he did love the greatness of the ancient nobility; and for these new men who did suddenly rise and were of that infinite expense, he did not desire to give them encouragement or any countenance in those courses. And for his hate of Sir Robert Mansell, I suppose it was upon this occasion. The Earl of Northampton was a very honest man, and it did grieve him much to see two abuses; the one was, that the King's navy should be so utterly neglected, wanting all kinds of reparations. . . . But to return to Sir Robert Mansell. Truly he was a very honest man and open-hearted man, a valiant man, and one that was fit for any sea employment; but a man so void of all compliments, and a little rash. Let him speak with any grave old councillor, especially in a difference concerning himself, I dare undertake that he should give him some affront and some offence; and so he might provoke Northampton; but that the Earl should break into such words as the author would fasten upon him I shall never believe, for they do not savour of Christianity. I remember, when Sir Robert had a complaint in parliament concerning his glass-house, he began to speak in some choler; whereupon some of the lords, knowing his disposition, wished him to hold his peace, fearing lest he should give offence, and so be committed; but others cried, 'Let him speak, let him speak; he speaks like an open-hearted Welshman and like a

[1] James Hay, Earl of Carlisle of the second creation. Both Sir Anthony Weldon and Bishop Goodman are guilty of an anachronism in stating that Northampton hated the *Earl of Carlisle*, for Hay was not created earl until 1622, when Northampton had been dead seven or eight years. Both the stories were written a good many years later. Northampton may have hated James Hay; the slip, however, discounts considerably the value of these memoirs.

soldier'; and we know that all men are not without passions, and if we should forbid them to soldiers we should abate their courage. . . . Dorset did wish that once he might see Northampton to have an office that others might pry into his accounts; neither was it Sir Robert Mansell that gave him the blow, but it was mild, wise, temperate Sir John Trevor, who had the managing of it, and did prevail in that business. Withal you must consider what a hard difficult thing it is to examine another man's accompts, and to find out the deceit. It appears by those long tedious suits which have been in chancery between merchants and tradesmen that have been partners. And so much concerning Sir Robert."[1]

Well, let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter—and a very tame conclusion it is.

The Royal Commission sat for thirteen months, and collected a thick volume of sworn evidence; it issued a report of the most condemnatory character upon the whole administration of the Navy, and accused certain high officials of the most dishonest and shameful abuses, which they did not make any real attempt to deny; it recommended sundry drastic changes in the administration, with the view of preventing in the future the repetition of the flagrant misdoings of the past; and the result was—*nil!*

The king, who was notoriously averse from any kind of unpleasantness, chose to ignore the finding of the Commission; Mansel and Trevor retained their posts, and everything went on in much the same fashion as before. It was an extraordinary business; Northampton, intriguer and flatterer as he undoubtedly was, had ample ground for his allegation that the Navy was being vilely administered; the host of witnesses called before the Commission testified to the discreditable facts; the king, in his warrant, had dwelt in considerable detail upon the nature of the abuses which had been reported to him, and which the report of the Commission substantiated; and then the whole thing was permitted to fizzle out.

This was perhaps the "blow" which was dealt Northampton,

[1] "The Court of King James," by Godfrey Goodman. Vol. i., pp. 52-56. Goodman had a somewhat stormy episcopal career, being constantly in trouble by reason of his alleged "popish" tendencies. It is said that he secured his election to the See of Hereford—which was richer than that of Gloucester—by bribing court officials; but Archbishop Laud induced the king to revoke his assent to the translation. (Dict. Nat. Biog.)

according to Bishop Goodman, by the "mild, wise, and temperate" Sir John Trevor, who "had the managing of it, and did prevail in that business."

The nonchalant attitude of King James, the irresponsible effusions of Sir Anthony Weldon and Bishop Goodman, when placed in the balance against the unimpeachable testimony afforded by the original official documents, while they may to some extent modify the tilting of the beam, cannot for a moment be held as of adequate weight to affect the verdict in any serious degree; and existing State Records cannot be ignored, or, at any rate, should not be ignored by anyone pretending to the rôle of sincere historian.

The most astonishing fact is, however, that these records have been entirely disregarded by every biographer of Sir Robert Mansel. Mr. G. T. Clark, both in "Archæologia Cambrensis" and in "Some Account of Sir Robert Mansel," omits all reference to them. Sir John Laughton, in the Dictionary of National Biography, says, "The administration of the Navy was notoriously corrupt during James I.'s reign, but there seems no ground for charging Mansell while treasurer with any gross dishonesty. He made no large fortune in office"; and in support of this opinion he refers to an article in the *English Historical Review*, in which the writer expresses the view that Mansel should have been sent to the Tower! [1]

Mr. W. W. Mansell adopts without scrutiny Sir Anthony Weldon's apocryphal story about the seven years' commission and the silk stockings, and informs us also that this alleged enquiry was ordered "at the request of Sir Robert," and that "Sir Robert Mansell and Mr. Councillor James Whitlock were committed by Privy Council during this investigation"; the fact being that when Sir Robert and Whitelock got into trouble with the Council, it was for attempting to frustrate the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, as will presently be related.

Mr. Mansell quotes, in confirmation of his statement that Sir Robert and Whitelock were committed during this alleged seven

[1] See *English Historical Review*, July, 1892: "The Royal Navy under James I.," by M. Oppenheim.

years' commission, a document purporting to be a copy of the report of the proceedings of the Privy Council upon the occasion in question, dated 1609, without the day or month.

This document undoubtedly exists,[1] included among a number of similar records, neatly copied in contemporary caligraphy, by an unknown hand; but it is clear that the year assigned to it is erroneous; the report of the Privy Council in 1613, unquestionably an original authority, is couched word for word in the same language, and it would be absurd to imagine that a precisely similar episode, with the same persons concerned, and the proceedings reported in absolutely identical language, could have occurred in 1609. The industrious transcriber of State Records, whoever he was, made a slip in this instance; and the incident serves to convey one more warning against the absolute acceptance of documents solely by virtue of their antiquity.

Meanwhile, to return to the doings of Sir Robert Mansel, he was concerned, in collaboration with Phineas Pett, in the laying down and construction of a ship of war, exceeding in dimensions any vessel yet built for the Navy.

This was the *Prince Royal*, laid down at Woolwich on October 20, 1608, while Northampton's Commission was sitting. She attracted a great deal of attention, both by reason of her size, and also because of the jealousy and rancour displayed towards Pett by other shipwrights, who were only too ready to point out what they deemed to be faults in design or construction, the employment of inferior material, and so forth; and they were very strenuously backed up by the unremitting animus of the Earl of Northampton.

Phineas Pett has left us an autobiography, in manuscript, in which this and other matters are dealt with from his point of view.[2] As a contemporary personal record it must be accorded a large amount of credit; but it is written in a bitter, rampantly *ex parte* spirit, and copiously interlarded with allusions to Divine interposition

[1] Addl. MSS., No. 4149. Mr. Mansell calls it "Ayscough's MSS."; it is one of a series collated and indexed by Samuel Ayscough; possibly it was thus known in 1850, when Mansell wrote this.

[2] Harley MSS., No. 6279.

on behalf of the writer, which, if the allegations of witnesses on oath are not to be ruthlessly set aside, savour strongly of a certain hypocrisy.

According to Pett, the king, having been repeatedly told by Northampton of the alleged defects in the construction, etc., of the *Prince Royal*, determined to hold an inquisition in person on the spot, and so repaired to Woolwich one day, heard all that was to be said on both sides, had the technical details explained to him by Pett and other experts beside the vessel, and after a lengthy investigation declared himself to be absolutely satisfied that she was designed and was being built in a thoroughly efficient manner.

Northampton was present; also the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Robert Mansel, the latter deeply concerned in the outcome of the enquiry, as having assisted and advised Pett in the design of the ship.

The king is represented as having expressed his appreciation of the merits and capacity of Nottingham and Pett in the most fulsome terms, while the witnesses on the other side—Walter Baker, a veteran shipwright of eighty years, and others—were told that they deserved severe punishment for their malicious perjuries. Nottingham conducted the king in triumph to his carriage, bringing Pett up to kiss the royal hand in grateful farewell, while Northampton sulked off to his carriage by a back entrance, and would not even take leave of His Majesty. The whole thing is rather too highly coloured to be accepted literally; but there is no ground for questioning the main facts, and the *Prince Royal* was completed under the superintendence of her designers.

At the conclusion of his account of these proceedings, Pett writes, after describing the departure of the king, Nottingham, etc.: "Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Thomas [should be Sir John] Trevor, Captain Button and the rest of my good friends followed, amongst whom was the good old Lady Mansell and Mrs. Button, who had taken the pains to attend the hearing in an inner room all that day."

The "good old Lady Mansell" was probably the wife of Sir Thomas Mansel, Sir Robert's eldest brother, who was married in 1582, and knighted in 1591.

The *Prince Royal* was launched, at the second attempt, in September, 1610; and—to finish with her, in so far as regards the controversy concerning her construction—in 1621 the Commissioners of the Navy, after a careful examination of her, reported that the expenditure of £500 would render her fit for coast service, but that it would need £6,000 to make her a strong and perfect ship; and that she was built in the first instance "of old red and decaying timber and that fallen in the sap, and her double planking with green and unseasoned stuff," and so forth.[1]

Pett has a different story to tell about this survey. According to him, she was surveyed during his absence, "through the malice of Mr. Burrell and some of the rest of the Commissioners of the Navy"; but that the king, "who well understood their malicious proceedings," sent the surveyors back to Chatham to reconsider their report; upon which they "certified that the ship might be made serviceable for a voyage into Spain with the charge of £300." It seems to be an improbable story.

Pett has also a long story to tell about the *Resistance*, which is not worth while giving in detail. He makes out that she was hired as a transport to accompany Nottingham on the Spanish Embassy, and states that the lord admiral was "privy" to all his transactions on the trip, and explained the matter to the king after the report of the Commission had been delivered. Pett does not, however, make the readers of his autobiography "privy" to his business at Seville and elsewhere on this occasion, and there is a muddle of dates which tends to discount the genuineness of the vague account which he supplies. He states that he sailed from St. Lucar (near Cadiz) on June 20, and after various trips to Cadiz, back to Ferrol, etc., which must have occupied many days, he made the Start, in the English Channel, June 23, and landed at Rye in Sussex on the 26th—an impossible story. Furthermore, the account which he gives of his trip does not agree very well with the letter signed by Mansel

[1] Coke MSS., Cal. I., 114. This is described as "draft of a letter by John Coke from the Commissioners of the Navy to the Lord Admiral." It does not appear in Cal. State Papers; possibly it was not, after all, forwarded to the lord admiral.

and Trevor, which forms the subject of the former's long excuse to Northampton.

All these conflicting statements can only be recorded, and readers must form their own judgment thereupon.

The indisputable fact remains, that the maladministration of the Navy was the subject of common gossip for years; and the Royal Commission of 1608 produced no amelioration in the business.

In the year 1613, at the instance of the Earl of Northampton and Sir Robert Cotton, another Commission was appointed to consider the condition of the Navy; at any rate, a warrant appears to have been issued to that effect, though there is no report extant of the proceedings or report of such Commission.

The Earl of Northampton, writing to Sir Thomas Lake, November 18, 1613, says: "It is impossible to redress abuses in the Navy, whilst the pay is so much in arrears that the wives and children of the sailors are hardly kept from making outcries at the gate. The King has already lost £100,000 by pilfering, since the Commission was given for discovery of frauds in the Navy."[1]

The Commission was therefore obviously hanging fire, for some months previously, in June of the same year, Sir Robert Mansel and James Whitelock had been summoned before the Council, for taking exception to certain clauses and provisions in the warrant.

It is said that Mansel acted at the instigation of the Earl of Nottingham, whose name was purposely kept out of the proceedings; and that the lord admiral and the treasurer had their own reasons for preventing enquiry; whether there was any truth in these innuendoes it is not easy to decide.

Mansel engaged James Whitelock as counsel. Exception was taken, among other points, to the threat of punishment to offenders in the matter of frauds, Whitelock maintaining that it was no part of the office of a Royal Commission to threaten or inflict penalties.

This and other alleged irregularities he argued before the Council, advancing some ingenious legal disabilities, based upon ancient law and privileges; but he stated his case "in a very

[1] Cal. State Papers, James I., 1611-1618; p. 208.

contemptuous and disloyal manner, attacking the King's prerogative, for which he stands charged, as does Sir Robert, for seeking undutifully to oppose His Majesty's proceedings."

Sir Robert and his counsel, deeming it too hazardous to stand out against the king and his representatives, expressed their regret; they were told to deliver their submission in writing, which being done, they were liberated and restored to favour: but Sir Robert spent a fortnight in the Marshalsea prison over this business.[1]

It was about this time that a revolution occurred in the making of glass; and as Sir Robert Mansel was deeply concerned in this industry, it may be as well to relate at this point the tale of his connection with it. This will involve some considerable chronological anticipation, but it appears preferable and less cumbrous to deal with the subject comprehensively than to introduce from time to time allusions to the incidents and controversies pertaining thereto.

Glass of a very rough and inferior description had been made in England in the fifteenth century; early in the following century there commenced a considerable development of the industry, foreign workmen and artists being the chief instigators and experts of the manufacture. Various patents were granted at intervals to individuals for the making of glass, but they were not effective, being freely infringed with impunity. In 1589 there were some fifteen glass-works in England, and some few names, all foreign, stand out prominently from the rest, as Henzey and Tyzacke, and the family of the Bungards; and these continued for many generations to hold the highest reputation among glass-workers.

In 1574 a patent of monopoly was granted to one Giacopo Verselini for the sole manufacture of drinking-glasses for twenty-one years, with prohibition of importation from abroad; but he did not flourish very greatly, and in 1592 the reversion of his patent was granted to Sir Jerome Bowes. Other patents followed, and the industry was gaining in extent and importance, when it began to be realised that the wood fuel which was needed for the furnaces made a great and increasing demand upon the forests, which aroused much

[1] Cal. State Papers, James I., 1611-1618; p. 186.

popular opposition; indeed, attention had been drawn to this a good many years earlier, and in Elizabeth's reign glass-works had been "put down" on that account.

The glass-workers were driven from pillar to post, seeking well-timbered country where their depredations would be less noticeable; and at length some of them, in Worcestershire first, and then in Surrey and Sussex, began to experiment with coal in their furnaces.

In 1610 Sir William Slingsby, of whom we have heard before as Captain Slingsby in the Cadiz expedition of 1596, holding at the time a court appointment as "Carver to the Queen," was granted a patent to "make furnaces, bell-metal, glass, etc., with sea and grit coal for 21 years"; [1] but in the following year another patent was granted to Sir Edward Zouch and his partners, giving them the exclusive privilege of making glass with coal; and this was confirmed in 1614, setting aside the rights of all previous patentees.

There was trouble over this, as might have been expected, and some arrests were made for infringements; but the new patentees sailed on and prospered; and in order to strengthen their position they admitted into partnership the Earl of Montgomery and Sir Robert Mansel, an arrangement which was officially ratified by a fresh patent of January 19, 1615.[2]

With characteristic energy, Mansel quickly became the leader in the business, which was thenceforward guided and controlled almost entirely by him. He immediately set about clearing every obstacle to complete monopoly and success.

The making of glass with wood fuel was still free to all, and this would constitute a certain competition; and there would be danger of the old glass-makers secretly using the new method, and so forth, while the grant of an absolute monopoly of the whole industry would contravene certain precedents established before the "Committee of Grievances" in 1603, and in the suit of Darcy *v.* Allen, known as the "Case of Monopolies."

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[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom., James I., 1603-1610; p. 625.

[2] Pat. R., James I., pt. iii.

Mansel and his partners were not to be daunted, however, by these difficulties; they possessed immense influence at court, and eventually, in May, 1615, a proclamation was issued which prohibited the use of wood in melting glass, on the ground that it was necessary to protect the forests.

Thus was the actual monopoly secured, Mansel and his colleagues having the exclusive right of using coal.

This traffic in monopolies was, of course, a scandalous business; patents were obtained solely by means of court influence, with the stipulation, as a rule, of certain substantial payments to the king. The practice had been declared in 1610 to be contrary to His Majesty's laws, and in the Statute of Monopolies of 1624 this verdict was strongly reiterated; nevertheless, loopholes were always left open for evasion by those who were held in especial favour, or were in a position to offer liberal pecuniary indemnity for their privileges.

Sir Robert Mansel and his partners cannot, under these circumstances, be held blameworthy for availing themselves of existing conditions; but they were soon denounced and assailed vehemently by others who were interested in the making of glass, and indeed, the various safeguards and privileges granted to them were calculated to arouse jealousy.

They were granted all glass which was forfeited by virtue of the proclamation; orders were issued for the apprehension of certain glass-workers who were suspected of a design to leave the country, among them one Joshua Henzey, described as a "servant" of Sir Robert Mansel; warrants were issued for the suppression of glass-houses in the interest of Mansel; the chancellor and barons of the Exchequer were directed to summon offenders before them and summarily punish them; open warrants of assistance were granted for Mansel to use at his discretion; many persons were summoned before the Council, their goods seized, and bonds exacted of them;[1] it was, in fact, a most glaring instance of a "corner," backed up by official assistance.

[1] *See* Council Registers, Jan.-Dec., 1615, vol. ii., pp. 8, 115, 126; March 17, 1616; April 7, 1616; vol. ii., pp. 57, 58, 1618; and a great number of apprehensions and seizures, 1618-1621, vols. iii., iv., v., vi.

From a statement by Sir Robert in defence of his patent during the debate upon the Monopoly Bill, in 1624, it appears that, having acquired the sole rights from his former partners, he endeavoured to establish factories in various places, at great cost, during some three years. London, the Isle of Purbeck, Milford Haven, and the Trent Valley—all these localities are mentioned as the scenes of his labours, and the immense amount of ground covered testifies eloquently to Mansel's courage and persistence. At length, in the year 1618, he succeeded in making a fair start at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where, he contended, he was effecting a great saving in wood, giving employment to shipping in the transport of materials and glass, employing four thousand natives in the manufacture, and providing it cheaper and better than before.[1]

Other persons interested in the business were not, however, disposed to ratify these statements, and for some years there had been disparaging comments, and grievous complaints of the injuries inflicted by the monopoly.

In 1618 Sir Robert petitioned the Council for a grant of letters of assistance for *pulling down all glass furnaces set up*, and apprehending all persons infringing his patent . . . he will otherwise be unable to pay the £1,000 rent to the king and £1,800 to the other partners, who have resigned ;[2] and the Council was apparently quite ready to meet him half-way.

In 1619 Paul Vinion petitions the king and Council for permission to work up his stock of materials, which he had laid in before the proclamation of monopoly was issued—surely a very reasonable request ; and Vinion offers to pay for Sir Robert's permission, or to sell him his materials.

Mansel, however, says that Vinion's petition for license to make green drinking-glasses would greatly prejudice him in his patent for the sole manufacture of glass, and so forth. Paul Vinion persisted in urging his petition, Lady Mansel and Captain Bacon being deputies for Sir Robert in his enforced absence at sea ; but it does not appear that any concession was made.

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1623-1625 ; p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1611-1618 ; p. 601.

In 1620 there was a good deal of controversy about Sir Robert's glass.

James Ord pleaded that glass which was imported contrary to proclamation, and which, it will be remembered, was Mansel's lawful prize, might be given in charge to neutral persons, until it be ascertained whether Mansel supplied a sufficient quantity of glass—a direct challenge of the efficiency of Sir Robert's plant and turn-out.

A large number of glaziers petitioned that some proposed glass-works in Scotland might proceed, in order that they might not be compelled to buy Sir Robert Mansel's glass, which was scarce, bad, and brittle.

Sir Robert maintains that the scarcity of glass is through no fault of his; that he has been at great expense to improve its quality, and that its high price is caused by rise in the price of coals, and is still lower than that stipulated in the patent, etc.

This controversy resulted in Sir Robert's glass being subjected to examination by sundry experts.

Four glaziers report that it is for the most part serviceable, but some is bad; the Glaziers' Company maintains that it is mostly unserviceable.

Inigo Jones[1] and Thomas Baldwin, officers of the Works, report that Sir Robert Mansel's glass is mixed good and bad together, and is very thin in the middle.

Sundry petitions against Mansel appear in 1621; John Worrall and others plead that they were taught glass-making by Sir Jerome Bowes, but by Sir Robert Mansel's patent they are prevented from the pursuit of their calling; they offer £1,000 a year to the Crown for a license to carry it on.

Then Isaac Bungard, one of the hereditary glass-workers already alluded to, makes bitter complaint that Sir Robert Mansel's patent "has been pronounced a monopoly by two parliaments," *i.e.*, that it contravenes the law, and begs that all the English be allowed to make glass, for which license they will pay £500 per annum to the king, and make it two shillings a pound cheaper than Mansel.

[1] The famous architect, he was appointed Surveyor of the Works in 1613.

Bungard's freedom of criticism upon what he obviously deemed gross favouritism got him into trouble; for immediately afterwards we find a letter from Elizabeth, Lady Mansel, to Sir Clement Edmondes, desiring the liberation of Bungard, provided he will promise not to infringe Sir Robert Mansel's patent, nor disturb his glass-works.

Bungard expresses regret for his expressions against Mansel, but fears to commit himself to the required pledge, lest it may be strained to his inconvenience.[1]

Sir Robert had apparently made friends with the Glaziers' Company before this affair, for we find a letter from the latter to the Council, certifying that Mansel's glass is "cheap, of good quality, and plentiful, and is superior to the glass brought out of Scotland, and that they are better served now than before, when Bungard and others used to buy up all the glass and sell it at high prices."[2]

A few days later the glaziers are writing to the Duke of Lennox and others, commissioners for the glass business, describing the proceedings of Isaac Bungard, John Dynes, and others, since 1605, in endeavouring to engross the whole trade in glass, so as to have the prices at their disposal; entreating that their present slanderous bill in Parliament against Sir Robert Mansel's patent may be frustrated, etc.[3]

So here is another point of view, and another alleged "corner."

Sir Robert was frequently prevented by his duties afloat from attending personally to his glass business, but his wife was apparently an active deputy.

On June 24, 1623, Sir William Beecher (Clerk to the Council) writes to the Council concerning the cases in which Sir William Clavell, contrary to the orders in Council of February 21, 1621, has by his agents seduced the workmen from Sir Robert Mansel's glass-works to the glass-works in Scotland. Clavell alleges that Lady

[1] Cal. State Papers. 1619-1623; p. 330. Sir Clement Edmondes was Clerk to the Council.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

Mansel tampers with his workpeople, but she replies that it is only with such as formerly served her husband.[1]

On July 7 a number of artificers in glass make petition to the Council that Lady Mansel may be compelled either to allow them such wages as they formerly received, or to discharge them from her service.[2]

And then we find Sir William Clavell a prisoner in the Marshalsea, to which he has been committed on information of Sir Robert Mansel, pleading that his offence was not wilful, etc.[3]

Sir Robert evidently was resolved to stand no nonsense, and he was no doubt technically in the right; but the innumerable squabbles over the business are somewhat wearisome, and there is no object to be attained by detailing them further. That Mansel was greatly favoured in the matter may be further inferred from the fact that, in the Statute of Monopolies, in 1624, he is especially exempted, by name, from the operation of the newly passed Act.

In the year 1616, when Mansel was setting up his glass-works in Broad Street, London, he engaged as steward, or manager, one James Howell, who had been a pupil, at Jesus College, Oxford, of Francis Mansel, nephew of the admiral, and afterwards principal of Jesus College.

Howell afterwards attained a position of some importance as a writer, and was also engaged upon diplomatic works. He left a collation of letters to various persons,[4] which were printed in 1678, and in this there appear some which bear upon his experiences under Sir Robert Mansel.

Howell apparently made his first journey to the Continent in 1618, for he writes to Dr. Francis Mansell, in March of that year, that he has obtained a warrant from the Council to travel anywhere for three years, "Rome and St. Omer excepted."[5]

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1619-1623; p. 618.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1623-1625; p. 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[4] "Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ; Familiar Letters, domestic and forren," etc. The somewhat fantastic first title is obviously a Latinised version of Howell's Welsh name.

[5] Letter III., p. 4. Probably these exceptions were made to obviate the danger of "popish" influence or intrigue. The veto on Rome is obvious enough from this point of view; the exclusion of St. Omer (which is some forty miles from Lille, on the road to Calais) was probably due to the fact that the expelled English Jesuits had established there in 1592 a large college.

These journeyings were undertaken chiefly in the service of Sir Robert Mansel, with the object of "picking up wrinkles," and possibly engaging some foreign experts in the manufacture of special kinds of glass.

He writes, June 6, 1619, from Middleborough (Middleburg), in Holland, to Captain Francis Bacon, who was evidently employed in some capacity by Sir Robert at the London glass-factory; it will be recollected that Mansel's first wife was a Bacon. The letter is despatched by the hand of Signor Antonio Miotti, who, says Howell, "was Master of a Crystal-Glass Furnace here a long time, and as I have it by good intelligence, he is one of the ablest and most knowing men for the guidance of a Glass-work in Christendom; therefore according to my instructions I send him over, and hope to have done Sir Robert good service thereby."[1]

On May 30, 1621, Howell writes from Venice to Sir Robert Mansel, and again despatches his letter by the hands of persons whom he has engaged to work for his employer; he is very enthusiastic and sanguine concerning the merits and capabilities of these new recruits for the English glass-works: "These two Italians who are the bearers hereof, by report here, are the best Gentlemen-Workmen that ever blew Crystal; one is allied to Antonio Miotti, the other is cousin to Mazalao. . . . Herewith I have sent a letter to you from Sir Henry Wotton the Lord Ambassador here, of whom I have received some favours. He wished me to write that you have now a double interest in him; for whereas before he was only your servant, he is now your kinsman by your late marriage.[2] . . . I was lately to see the Arsenal of Venice, one of the worthiest sights of Christendom. . . . Being brought to see one of the *clarissimos* that governs this Arsenal, among other matters relating to England, he was saying, That if Cavaglier Don Roberto Mansell were now here, he thought verily the republic would make a proffer to him to be Admiral of that fleet

[1] Letter XI., p. 15.

[2] Sir Henry Wotton's niece, Phillippa, daughter of Edward, first Baron Wotton, married Sir Edmund Bacon, who was nearly related to Sir Robert Mansel's first wife: by "your *late* marriage" Sir Henry probably meant *first* marriage; there does not appear to be any connection between the Wottons and the Ropers.

of gallies and galleons which are now going against the Duke of Ossuna, and the forces of Naples; you are well known here."[1]

A judicious little flattery of his chief, but it does not ring quite true; "Don Roberto" seems out of place in Italy.

Howell has also a wonderful story to tell about the glass-works at Murano; according to this, the properties of Muranese glass are due in great measure to the atmospheric conditions which prevail there; though it is, as he says, "about the distance of Lambeth from London," yet the air of Venice will not permit of the same results—probably a legend extant among the glass-workers, jealous of their own territory.

In a letter dated March 5, 1618, to Dr. Francis Mansel, Howell says: "I am returned safe from my three years' travel"; this letter comes after those already quoted, of the year 1621, and should perhaps be dated in that year. He proceeds: "Your honourable uncle Sir Robert Mansel, who is now in the Mediterranean, hath been very notable to me, and I shall ever acknowledge a good part of my education from him. He hath melted vast sums of money in the glass business, a business more proper for a Merchant than a Courtier. I heard the King should say, that he wondered Robin Mansel, being a seaman, whereby he hath got so much honour, should fall from *Water* to tamper with *Fire*, which are two contrary elements."[2]

James Howell further announces in this letter his intention of quitting the glass business, which he says "will be too brittle a foundation for me to build a fortune upon."

We have Sir Robert Mansel's own statement to the effect that, after various attempts in London and elsewhere, he at length succeeded in establishing a glass factory at Newcastle-on-Tyne, which promised good results.

The Rev. John Brand, in his "History of Newcastle," says: "We may venture to fix the beginning of the glass-works upon the river Tyne about A.D. 1619, where they were established by Sir Robert Mansell, Knt., Vice-Admiral of England. The cheapness of

[1] Letter XXVIII., p. 38.

[2] Section II., Letter V., p. 68. Sir Robert was not in the Mediterranean in 1618.

sea-coal was no doubt his chief inducement for erecting them at so great a distance from London."[1]

Sir Robert would thus appear to have been the pioneer of glass-making in Northumberland; and we learn that he obtained the lease of a clay deposit in that county, especially adapted for the making of glass: "A seam of clay, of a quality suitable for use at the glasshouses, was opened at Thirston about the beginning of the seventeenth century, having been accidentally discovered, it is said, by a travelling Frenchman, 'going along the road, being a glass man.' A lease for 21 years of 'a myne of clay used for making of glasses' was granted from Lady Day, 1624, to Sir Robert Mansell, Knight."[2]

In 1626 Mansel's rival, Bungard (or Bungar), was finally silenced by the Council. "The King having referred to them the complaints of one Bungar against the glass patent granted to Sir Robert Mansell, it is ordered that the patent shall stand. Their Lordships think it to be of dangerous consequences, and far trenching upon the prerogative, that patents granted on just grounds, and of long continuance, should be referred to the strict trial of the common law; wherefore, they order that all proceedings at law be stopped, and that Bungar do not presume further to trouble His Majesty on pain of punishment."[3]

Mansel had a renewal of his patent for fifteen years, in 1623, and before this had expired, in 1634, another extension for the term of twenty-one years; while, by an order in Council of 1630, importations of certain kinds of glass had again been restricted upon his representation.

One would imagine that Sir Robert would have been contented with the almost invariable complaisance of the king and Council towards his glass-making enterprise—surely no man ever had more done for him in this respect: yet in 1635 we find him representing his alleged difficulties and hardships. From this statement it appears

[1] "History and Antiquities of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," by John Brand. Vol. ii., p. 42.

[2] "History of Northumberland," by John C. Hodgson. Vol. vii., p. 318. Thirston is in the parish of Felton, about twenty-five miles north of Newcastle.

[3] Cal. State Papers, 1625-1626; p. 489.

that he had sunk £30,000 in the business before he saw any return, and he complains of the intrigues of Scottish glass-makers, who entice away his men, and compel him to buy up the works at £250 a year before he can get his men back, and so forth.[1]

A year or two later, however, upon complaints of the quality of the glass being again advanced, the Lords of the Council took some pains to have it examined and tested, with the result that Mansel received a reminder to "keep up to the mark," being informed that their lordships had "found by their own experience that the glass was not so fair, so clear, nor so strong as the same was wont to be." The complainants were, however, informed at the same time that their complaints were "merely clamorous and causeless," and that if they gave any further trouble they would be imprisoned.[2]

When, in 1640, the Scots invaded England and captured Newcastle, Mansel's works naturally suffered, and he wrote a long letter to Secretary Windebank, detailing his losses, and begging that some assistance might be afforded him, in providing transport for his glass and material to London, and so forth.

However, he ultimately set about restoring his Newcastle plant; but before he had time to effect this fully, his patent was again called in question in Parliament.

Mansel appealed to the House of Lords against some infringers of his patent, and there received support; the opponents of the patent appealed to the House of Commons; an order was issued for the restoration of certain glass which Mansel had seized—with the sanction of the lords—and he was ordered to attend the House. He then petitioned the House of Commons, but it was clear that the palmy days of his monopoly were drawing to their close. Investigation by a Committee of Grievances resulted in an order that the patent be delivered up to the Clerk of the House, and thus the monopoly came to an end.

As has already been remarked, Sir Robert Mansel was within his rights in obtaining whatever concessions he could; but that it was

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1634-1635; p. 476.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1637-1638.

in any sense a high-class or admirable business cannot for a moment be maintained.

Mansel restored his works, and continued the manufacture of glass until his death; he had rivals, of course, but there are no details as to how they affected his business.[1]

To return to some earlier years: in 1612 Sir Robert Mansel was one of the directors of "the Company of the Merchants Discoverers of the North-West Passage." He had been formerly associated with the Muscovy Company, and the East India Company, in fitting out and despatching the expedition, under the command of Henry Hudson, for the discovery of the North-West Passage, an expedition which came to grief through disagreements and mutinies, and ended in Hudson, together with his son and some sick seamen, being turned adrift in a small boat, never to be heard of again.

It was now proposed to send out another expedition for the same purpose, and the king granted a charter to the new company by this name, under the especial protection of his son, Prince Henry.

The directors are named in the Charter, Sir Robert Mansel's name standing first on the list.

The expedition was to consist of the *Resolution*, commanded by Thomas Button, who was in charge, and the *Discovery*, commanded by John Ingram.

The Buttons, though not originally of Welsh extraction, had been established in Wales for some generations, and had intermarried with several Welsh families. Thomas Button was related to Sir Robert Mansel by marriage, having married a daughter of Sir Walter Rice, of Dynevor, whose wife was sister to Sir Robert.

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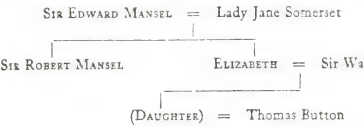
[1] Indebtedness must be acknowledged to "The English Patents of Monopoly," by William Hyde Price; ch. vi., "The Glass Patents." This is an excellent and carefully-written book, with all statements duly authenticated. In Brand's "History of Newcastle," already referred to, there is a note that in the Common Council Book, under date August 12, 1653, mention occurs of the death of Sir Robert Mansel, and the devolution of the remainder of his lease to one Mr. Meyer. This is interesting, and will be referred to again; it does not agree with other accounts, which give 1650 as the year of his death.



Button sailed about the middle of April, 1612; and though he failed to discover the North-West Passage, he made an interesting voyage, and established the position of sundry points and islands on the shores of Hudson's Bay, which in some instances still retain the names which Button bestowed upon them.

There is not, however, any detailed account of the expedition extant: Button's journal seems to have been lost or destroyed. There are several stories, or "Voyages," as they are termed, by Captain Luke Fox and others who have obtained their information at second hand.

Entering Hudson Strait, he named a small island or two on the left hand, at the northern extremity of Labrador, Button Islands; a large island towards the further shore of the strait was named Resolution Island, after the ship; and when they were entering Hudson's Bay, another, which practically divides the entrance into two channels, was named Mansel Island, or possibly *Mansfeld*; but it was at any rate named after Sir Robert Mansel, one of the principal directors of the Company. Sir Robert at one time used actually to sign his name *Mansfield*, or *Mansfeeld*. Captain Fox, however, says that Button named the island *Mancel*; it is most commonly styled Mansfield in charts and atlases, probably on account of that little idiosyncrasy of Sir Robert's in the matter of orthography. If a man takes to playing tricks with the spelling of his own name it is scarcely surprising that other folk should follow suit. In Phillips's Imperial Atlas, however, the name is spelt *Mansell*.

A cape at the southern extremity of what is now known as

[1] Sir Walter Rice was a direct descendant of Griffith ap Nicholas, whose daughter Mabel married Philip Mansel of Oxwich. Mr. R. G. Maunsell says that Elizabeth married "her cousin, Sir Walter Rice." How far does "cousinship" reckon back? This is a matter of five generations!

Coats Island received the quaint title of Cary's Swan's Nest, which it still retains. There is doubtless some little story attached to this; the most probable explanation appears to be that one of the crew named Cary discovered there a swan's nest; perhaps he was attacked by the irate swan-mother, and compelled to beat an ignominious retreat, the name being bestowed in gentle irony.

Button, exceedingly vague as to the extent of the bay and the trend of the land, sailed away westward; there is good reason for believing that he expected to be able to sail straight on into the great western ocean; great was his disappointment, then, when the western shore of the great bay loomed up ahead—disappointment which he emphasised by naming the spot at which he made it "Hope's-check"; this has, however, not been retained.

Following the coast southwards, in stormy weather, he found a broad inlet, the estuary, in fact, of the River Nelson, for it is still so called, Button having named the estuary Port Nelson, after his sailing master, Thomas Nelson, who died there.

In a creek up this river Button and his companions spent a severe winter, with much sickness among the crews, though they were able to obtain a liberal supply of ptarmigan and other birds for food.

When spring returned, Button set about exploring the bay. There is no need to follow his course here in detail; he apparently explored all the northern coast of the bay, coming round again to Mansel Island and Cary's Swan's Nest.

They anchored off Mansel Island and sent a boat in for water, which was found immediately; and here also they discovered the ruins of some rude houses or huts, human and other bones, walrus tusks, etc.

Button appears to have spent the whole period of his voyage, after wintering at Port Nelson, in searching round the northern part of Hudson's Bay for the North-West Passage, which, needless to say, he did not discover.

He returned to England in September, 1613, not having achieved very much beyond the establishment of the fact that the western coast of the bay is continuous; he may, indeed, be said to be practically the discoverer of this western boundary, and long after

Button's voyage a great part of what is now known as Hudson's Bay was named Button's Bay, a name only now retained by a small bay on the west coast, just north of Churchill River, the name Hudson's Bay being applied only to the narrowing portion of the huge gulf, on the south, which is now known as James' Bay, after another explorer of 1631. A good-sized island at the northern end of Hudson Strait was named by Button Nottingham Island, after the lord high admiral.

Button, shortly after his return, was appointed admiral of the king's ships on the coast of Ireland, which practically included the whole of the Irish Sea and the Bristol Channel, where piracy, chiefly by the French and Turks, was very prevalent at that time.

He was knighted, while in command of the *Phœnix* on these duties, August 30, 1616, by Sir Oliver St. John, lord deputy in Ireland.[1]

To return to Sir Robert Mansel: having been liberated from the Marshalsea and restored to the king's favour by virtue of his humble apology to the Council, in 1613, he was free to pursue his duties as treasurer of the Navy, the Commission of Enquiry having apparently come to nought.

There is not very much to say concerning the treasurer's doings at this time; he appears as making suggestions from time to time of a practical nature as to the building and equipment of ships of war, though this was not, strictly speaking, in his department.

In February, 1613, Mansel took part in a great fête and sham fight on the Thames, in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. This was a very fine display, Mansel taking one side and the Earl of Nottingham the other: and it is somewhat remarkable that Sir Robert should have been engaged in these festivities, while at the same time he was apparently scheming, in conjunction with James Whitelock, to set at nought the royal warrant for an enquiry into the state of the Navy.

However, he was not destined to hold the treasurership, as was stipulated in the first instance, during his lifetime.

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[1] Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1616. Button was knighted on the occasion of the installation of Sir Oliver St. John as lord deputy; the latter had apparently come over on board Button's ship, the *Phœnix*. The idea that Button was knighted for his exploration voyage is erroneous.

Meanwhile, having lost his first wife—the date of her death does not appear in any biography—Sir Robert bethought him of taking another; and, following the example of his grandfather, Sir Rhys, he found her among the ladies who were about the court, to wit, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Roper, Knight.[1]

In November, 1616, Edward Sherburn, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, says: "the King has given . . . £10,000 to Sir Robt. Mansell, who has married Mrs. Roper, the Queen's woman." [2]

The statement, however, as to the marriage, is premature, though the king's munificent wedding-gift to Sir Robert—worth something like £50,000 in present value—was no doubt conferred at this time.

In a letter from that agreeable gossip, John Chamberlain, to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated March 15, 1617, it is stated that the marriage took place on that day, or certainly not more than a day or two previously: "Sir Robert Mansell married at Denmark House to Mrs. Roper, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour." [2]

This lady has, through some unaccountable misapprehension, been named *Anne* by several writers, W. W. Mansell and R. G. Maunsell among the number. She is named Elizabeth in State Papers, alluding to the glass patents, and also in the grant of administration of Sir Robert Mansel's estate, after his death: Mr. W. W. Mansel quotes this document, but persists in the Christian name of *Anne*.[3]

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[1] It is not clear to what family this knight belonged: the only Sir John Roper, knight, in Shaw's "Knights," is the same who, in the year 1616, was created Baron Teynham. Possibly this Sir John may have been a descendant of William Roper, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas More. If he was identical with Lord Teynham, he should have been alluded to by his title, as he acquired it the year previous to the marriage of his daughter with Mansel.

[2] Cal. State Papers, 1611-1618; pp. 406, 446.

[3] Mr. G. T. Clars, in "Some Account of Sir Robert Mansel," alludes to the confusion which exists in some quarters as to his marriages. His first wife is said to be widow of Judge Francis Wyndham, who died in 1592; a second wife is Ann, daughter of Sir John Ralph, and his *third* is named as Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon. There appears, however, to have been some confusion owing to Sir Robert having sometimes been known as *Mansfield*. Sir Robert's connection with Sir Barsingbourne Gandy was through his marriage with a Bacon, and this we know existed before 1600; while there can be no doubt as to the marriage with Elizabeth Roper in 1617. Sir John Ralph appears quite inadmissible. Sir Nicholas Bacon's daughter was, in fact, the widow of Francis Wyndham.

In the year 1618 important changes took place in the administration of the Navy.

In this year there had been another commission concerning "the present state of the ships, the sums that will be necessary for their repairs, the present average expenditure of the Navy, and the reasons why, notwithstanding the heavy charge, the ships are in so bad a condition."

The report, with an entirely new commission, is as unfavourable, as condemnatory, as that of 1609; the same abuses exist, neglect and extravagance are rampant on all hands. Nearly half of the forty-three ships which composed the Navy were unserviceable, and the commissioners declared that they would undertake to meet all necessary expenses, keep the ships up to the mark, and build ten new ships within the next five years, without exceeding £30,000 a year, whereas the yearly cost had lately been £53,000 per annum, with the results above mentioned, and so forth: it is a most depressing document to read, and sufficient detail has already been given on the subject; the Navy had been shockingly administered for years past, and now it was clear that some drastic steps must be taken.

Nottingham himself inaugurated the change; he was now eighty-two years of age, and naturally shrank from undertaking such a task as the reorganisation and purging of this hot-bed of corruption. He was not specifically blamed by the Commission, but he had never been efficient as an administrator, and now, after a futile proposal that he should work conjointly with the Duke of Buckingham, he finally resigned with, so to speak, all the honours of war—a debt of large amount to the Crown was remitted, he received a bonus of £3,000, and a pension of £1,000 a year. Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, February 6, 1619, says: "Buckingham has bought the sole Admiralship from the old Admiral for £3,000 and £1,000 pension."[1]

So here was a high office being sold, *malgré* the strictures of

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1619-1623; p. 11.

the Commission of 1608; it was, in fact, being done all the time, in every department.[1]

Sir Robert Mansel did not remain as treasurer; he was appointed, May 14, 1618, Vice-Admiral of England, a post second only in rank and importance to that of lord high admiral; he was succeeded in the treasurership of the Navy by Sir William Russell; the grant of the post to Russell appears in the Calendar of State Papers, May 10, 1618; while Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, May 5, says: "Sir Wm. Russell, the Muscovy merchant, has bought the Treasurership of the Navy from Sir Robt. Mansell, who is to be Vice-Admiral."

This is how these things were managed in those days; apparently the transactions were winked at, and taken as a matter of course; and as in other affairs, so in this, Sir Robert cannot be blamed for availing himself of the prevailing practice.

The commissioners, after sending in their report, were constituted a standing board for the administration of the Navy; and it must be regretfully recorded that they found a great deal of fault with the late treasurer's accounts, which they state that he presented in a very incomplete and unsatisfactory state, pointing out also sundry abuses by which he was greatly enriched at the king's expense.[2]

There is a statement of Sir Robert Mansel's account for certain payments in connection with the glass patent, for which he paid the king £1,000 a year; and tacked on to this appears: "Due to me in my own particular for travelling charges . . . and money spent in His Majesty's service abroad, in the 14 years of my Treasurership of the Navy, which I have not imported into some of my accounts—£10,000" (!)[3]

We may hope that this was a tolerably just estimate of

[1] The Report of the Commission, together with suggestions, are to be found in State Papers, Dom., James I., vols. ci., cii., at the Record Office; the grant to Buckingham of the office of lord high admiral is in Cal. State Papers, 1619-1623; p. 8.

[2] The full report is to be found in State Papers, Dom., James I., vol. cxii., no. 102, in the Record Office.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. cxvi., no. 86.

omissions, though it certainly appears extravagant in the extreme, but it is most emphatically "not business." There does not appear to be any record of the payment of this huge sum.

The most important naval service upon which Sir Robert was employed was the expedition against the Algerian pirates, in the years 1620-1621, an enterprise concerning which, for divers reasons, a great deal has been written, and considerable difference of opinion displayed.

It is matter of history, and familiar to everyone, that these North African pirates were for very many years a perfect terror in the Mediterranean; the term "Barbary Corsairs" remains as a byword for cruel rapacity and ruthless devastation; and now for some years, on account of the intolerable outrages of these ruffians, by which trading vessels of every nation were unable to keep the seas, the English king and his advisers had had in contemplation an expedition against them, with or without the co-operation of Spain or Holland, or both.

In the year 1617 Sir William Monson was called before the Lords of the Council to give his advice as to the manner of the fitting out of such an expedition.[1]

It is not necessary to consider in detail Monson's advice, as set forth by himself, to the Council; the suggestions which he offers are somewhat obvious, and he assumes that Spain and Holland will join with England in the enterprise. His statement that the Council was busy over this affair in 1617 is borne out in the Calendar of State Papers; the commissioners for Spanish business in London propose a course for the suppression of pirates, by "a continued force upon them for some years" (which was, indeed, the only course likely to be completely successful).

[1] Sir William Monson held the post of Admiral of the Narrow Seas from the year 1604, when Sir Robert Mansel was appointed Treasurer of the Navy: we have already come across him in connection with the Islands Voyage under Essex, in 1597. In 1616 he was sent to the Tower, together with his elder brother, Sir Thomas, on suspicion of complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, but was released after six months. Nottingham, who did not like Monson, failed to reinstate him in his command, and in 1618 he lost his appointment. His long accounts of the advice he tendered to the Council upon the occasions of proposed naval expeditions must be accepted with some caution; he was addicted to self-advertisement, and his accounts are not always corroborated in State Papers.

"Have received the King's instructions to devise means for suppressing pirates, in order that Sir John Digby (then Ambassador at Madrid) may make a fitting overture to the Spanish King for assistance. The merchants think that London would contribute £40,000 in two years; they will not be backward, if the thing be seriously undertaken. The pirates flock to Algiers, but the surprising of that place is impossible. Experienced captains think the only mode would be to treat with foreign Princes, to join in maintaining forces for their gradual suppression. The assistance of Spain is especially necessary, because its ports being nearest to Algiers are most convenient for re-victualling."—Whitehall, April 30.[1]

In July of the same year the Mayor and Governor of Exeter wrote to the Council that the merchants of Exeter have but little trade to the southern parts, but some reasonable sum will be collected towards suppressing the pirates of Algiers and Tunis.[2]

In the following year Spain and Holland, tired perhaps of futile talk, combined their forces and "defeated twenty-four sail of pirates in Algiers." Whether the phrase "in Algiers" is to be literally accepted appears doubtful; more probably it was off Algiers.[3]

These schemes and discussions bore no fruit in England, however, until the year 1620, when it was decided to despatch a force under Sir Robert Mansel for the extirpation of the pirates, with the co-operation, if possible, of Spain and Holland; the "extirpation" of the Barbary pirates, and the association of Spain and Holland with England in such an enterprise were, however, as we shall see, projects which, though laudable enough in their inception, presented more formidable difficulties in accomplishment than was anticipated.

Sir Robert Mansel was appointed to command the expedition, with Sir Richard Hawkins as vice-admiral, and Sir Thomas Button as rear-admiral, the latter being taken from his command in the Irish Sea to fill this post. It is apparent from several sources that

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[1] Cal. State Papers, 1611-1618; p. 462.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 565. The statement appears [illegible] from one Abraham Williams to Sir Dudley Carleton, then English ambassador at the Hague.

there was some doubt as to whether Button should be thus transferred, and that but for this he might have been vice- instead of rear-admiral; however, he loyally accepted the subordinate position, though he appears, from a letter of Sir Robert Mansel of a later date, to have suffered some injury or injustice at the hands of Sir Robert, the nature of which is not specified.

Sir Richard Hawkins, it will be recollected, was on board one of the Spanish ships which got into Terceira, in the Azores, while Essex was looking for the treasure fleet which thus successfully evaded and baffled him. Hawkins was then a prisoner in Spanish hands, having surrendered, after a desperate resistance, in his ship, the *Dainty*. He was a very brave man, but it seems doubtful whether he was an efficient commander; the condition of the *Dainty*, as described by himself, before she went into action, would appear to savour of very gross carelessness and lack of supervision on the part of her captain.

The history of this expedition is contained to a great extent in a journal kept by "J. B.," who was present, as he tells us, in one of the ships, and who was, in fact, John Button, nephew to Sir Thomas Button. (This journal has been embodied in State Papers, Domestic, James I., vol. cxxii., no. 106, with some notes in MS. by Sir John Coke, a member of the Navy Commission.)

There are also extant the king's instructions to Sir Robert Maunsell, and a number of letters from the latter to the English ambassador at Madrid, the lord admiral, etc., which throw much light upon the matter.

Sir Robert Mansel has in some quarters been severely blamed, and even ridiculed, for the failure of this expedition; for a failure it was, in so far as concerned the extirpation of the Algerine pirates. The Dictionary of National Biography, in alluding to Sir Richard Hawkins's association with Mansel, says he "must share the blame which attaches to the miserable failure." Monson is very condemnatory in his own pedantic *de haut en bas* fashion, and the view most generally set forth by historians is more or less in the same tone.

These strictures, however, have been applied without sufficient consideration of the circumstances under which Mansel undertook

what was in itself a very difficult task; he was hampered and handicapped by the ulterior motives of King James and his Council, the outcome of international complications and jealousies. The despatch of the expedition was, in fact, timed to meet other contingencies, as the long and carefully prepared instructions issued by the king to Mansel, if read in conjunction with current events on the continent, fully bear witness—instructions which Mansel's detractors have not taken the trouble to read, or have carefully ignored.

This is no place for a detailed exposition of European politics, which were at the moment sufficiently complicated; suffice it to say that the election of King James's son-in-law to be King of Bohemia, the rapidly approaching termination of the truce between Spain and Holland, together with other occasions of international jealousies and disputes, combined to produce a most combustible political bundle, which was destined to be speedily set ablaze in the inauguration of the Thirty Years' War.

Spain, represented at the English court by the wily and subtle Condé de Gondomar, was temporising and prevaricating over the proposed joint expedition; Holland had intimated that she was despatching a fleet, independently of England, to deal with the pirates.

Gondomar had persuaded King James that his duty to his daughter and son-in-law did not extend beyond the preservation of Frederick's position as Prince Palatine, and that he should not support his usurpation of Bohemia; and that the Spanish army, already in motion, was intended only to support the Emperor Ferdinand's just claim to the disputed kingdom; then came the news that the Spaniards had actually invaded the Palatinate, and James was furious, declaring that he would send an army to his son-in-law's rescue.

Gondomar thereupon represented that the stipulation that the English ships should have the use of Spanish ports could not be maintained, as an English fleet could no longer be regarded as a friendly force. Spain did not want an English fleet "up the Straits," that is the fact; she regarded it as a dangerous menace to her Mediterranean ports; and furthermore, it was a constant bugbear

in Spain that England would not scruple to combine with the Barbary States, *i.e.*, with the pirates, against her—not such a wild idea, in reality, as it appears to be on the surface; the temptation to come to terms with the powerful Algerines had already been tampered with by Holland, and even contemplated by England at the time of the Cadiz expedition in 1596.

To sum up the position in the early part of 1620: England had an agreement with Spain for a joint attack on the pirates, which was vitiated by mutual distrust; Spain yielded with a bad grace the use of her ports by the English, and the stipulation that the latter should operate within the Straits, and Spain in the Atlantic. King James and his Council, in consideration of the generally menacing condition of continental affairs, while despatching Sir Robert Mansel's fleet with the ostensible object of suppressing the pirates, had also in view the possibility of its being used for other purposes. That this view of the matter was discussed in England is apparent in a letter written by John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, on September 9, 1620, when Mansel was about to sail: "Sir Robert Mansell and his companions are gone to Windsor to take leave of the King: their equipage is so rich that it is thought they cannot be going merely against Algiers pirates."[1]

The king's instructions must be summarised at this point.

The object of the expedition is "the welfare of our subjects, and the securing of their trade": and this not only in the Mediterranean, but on the Atlantic. On his way to the Straits, Mansel is to endeavour to capture any pirates of whatever nationality, etc., for which purpose the lord admiral has instructions to acquaint him with news of any having been encountered, but he is not to spend too much time over this, but make the best of his way to Gibraltar, and on sighting Cape Ortegal he is to hug the coast as nearly as is safe with due allowance for the direction of the wind; but "howsoever the wind be, to come close aboard at some or all those places, we doubt not but you shall receive advice." The inference is obvious that Mansel might find at some Spanish port advices or instructions

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1619-1623; p. 177.

of importance ; and as the king subsequently gives him very minute instructions as to his proceedings at Algiers, it can only be concluded that these advices might be of such a nature as to constitute an alteration of the whole programme.

The instructions proceed to set forth that, as the King of Spain is even more interested in the suppression of piracy than James, he has agreed to be associated with England in the enterprise, and also grants permission to the English to make use of all his ports and harbours, for refuge, embarking stores, etc., notwithstanding any article to the contrary in the late treaty between the two kings.

Mansel is to be on friendly terms with the Spanish and Dutch fleets, but not to meddle with them save in the way of mediation.

If the Spaniards will agree, their fleet shall guard outside the Straits, and Mansel's within.

He is to use every means in his power to break into and destroy the stronghold of the pirates at Algiers ; but as the town is so strongly fortified that this cannot be accomplished by any open assault, and as he (James) is at this time on friendly terms with the Grand Senor (the Sultan of Turkey), under whose dominion the town is acknowledged to be, he would not willingly give him cause of offence.

Mansel is not, therefore, to attempt any hostile act against the town, but is to require the magistrates and chief governors to deliver into his hands those wicked pirates and their armadores who are there harboured, against whom only his forces are sent, and compel them to make restitution for the losses which English subjects have sustained, etc. ; letters to this effect have been sent to the magistrates, and also to the Grand Senor.

Mansel is, however, to make use of any force or stratagem which he and the Council of War may deem fit, to destroy the pirate ships within the Mole (the inner artificial harbour), or get the ships and spoils into his possession, and to redeem and rescue any Christian captives who are in servitude there. Should any of the pirates prove to be English, he is to execute them " without favour or grace . . . that our justice towards them about any others may appear to the

world"—unless it should transpire that they had been forced by the pirates to take part with them.

Mansel may keep the fleet together, or divide them, at his discretion, so long as he keeps a strong force at Algiers, and may go to the eastward of Algiers, but not further east than Cape Spartivento (the southern point of Sardinia), unless driven there by the wind, or in chase; in which case he must speedily return to the prescribed area.

Although the king has such great confidence in Mansel, he appoints a Council of War, with whom Mansel is to confer when difficulties arise; when the Council assembles, the members are freely to speak their minds, and the course to be pursued is to be decided by the majority; also, in matters of importance, the captains of ships may be summoned to assist the Council with their advice.[1]

Such, in their general sense, were King James's instructions to his admiral; three points may be noted therein:

The urgency of calling for possible despatches, when full instructions for dealing with the Algerians were included.

The orders not to go to the eastward of Spartivento. This could have no special import in respect of the pirates; it was to keep Mansel's ships from getting away too far from Spain, and from what would be the most important battle area in case of trouble.

Lastly, the orders with regard to the method of dealing with the authorities at Algiers were worse than futile. The town was, indeed, supposed to be under the dominion of the Grand Senor, but it was most certainly not *acknowledged* to be so, even by the Sultan's own representative; it was "run" by the Corsairs, and had been for generations—a fact of which King James and his Council must have been well aware; and herein lies chiefly the handicap by which Sir Robert Mansel was so unduly weighted.

The only argument which appeals to such ruffians as the Barbary pirates, and the magistrates and governors who encouraged them in their murderous trade, and profited by it, is *brute force*. The idea of an English admiral presenting himself before these miscreants

[1] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 15.

with salutes and credentials and polite requests is as absurd as it is humiliating; they interpreted Mansel's attitude as one of respect inspired by fear, and, as we shall see, treated him accordingly.

Whether Algiers was so strong as to be impregnable to attack, as was asserted by King James and his advisers—the cocksure Monson among them—may well be questioned. There does not appear to be any detailed contemporary plan of the harbour and fortifications by which a true judgment might be arrived at; but it is an historical fact that the term "impregnable" is very frequently misused—it is being so misused, indeed, in this present war (1914); all depends, in fact, upon the resources and the "stomach" of the attacking party.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the dignity of the English flag, and the purpose of the expedition, would have been far better served had Mansel's instructions been of a different nature: a demand for the delivery of the pirates and their ships, their gains and captives, within twenty-four hours, on pain of a general bombardment, with the English fleet conveniently anchored, springs on their cables, guns loaded, ready to open fire on the stroke of the clock.

There is no reason for believing that Sir Robert Mansel was not a man of the right stamp for such an enterprise; and even had the forts wrought great havoc among the ships, it would have been a salutary warning to the pirates, an example to other nations, which might have been followed by an attack in force by English, Spanish, and Dutch ships. However, it was not to be; the Grand Senor and his rascally viceroy were not to be annoyed! But the English admiral was very much annoyed, and, whatever may have been his shortcomings, was placed in a most invidious and humiliating position.

The fleet was to have sailed about August 10, but the preparations were not sufficiently forward to admit of this; as we have seen, Mansel and his colleagues went to Windsor on September 10, to take leave of the king.

Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, had been doing all he could to prevent the sailing of the English fleet, and he imagined, as the autumn drew on, that he had succeeded, and so persuaded the Spanish government; their ships were withdrawn into the safe

haven of Cadiz, and were being laid up for the winter, when, on October 10, Mansel set sail.

The composition of the fleet is set forth in John Button's journal; in Additional MSS. 36445, fol. 167, a list is given, upon what authority does not appear, including one more man-of-war, the *Desire*, Captain Young, and two more merchant ships, the *George*, Captain Flett, and the *Robert*, Captain Giles: in his "Notes on Monson's Tracts" Mr. Oppenheim includes among the men-of-war the *Goodwill*, a hospital and store ship.

It will be convenient to introduce at this point the diary or journal of "J. B.," omitting the somewhat effusive preface, in prose and verse, with which he introduces his account, and then to deal with the letters of Mansel and others, which cast further light upon the matter.

ALGIERS VOYAGE

IN

A JOURNALL OR BRIEFE

Reportary of all occurrents hapning in the fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Maiestie, as well against the Pirates of Algiers, as others : the whole body of the Fleete consisting of 18. Sayle.

VIZ.

SIXE OF HIS MAIESTIES SHIPS.
TEN MARCHANTS SHIPS.
TWO PINNACES.

Vnder the command of SIR ROBERT MANSEL KNIGHT, VICE-ADMIRALL of ENGLAND, and ADMIRALL of that Fleet : and a Councell of Warre appointed by his Maiestie.

The Accidents of euery particular Moneth (since the first setting forth) being in this discouery, expressed by one that went along in the Voyage.

THE NAMES OF THE COUNCEL OF WARRE.

SIR ROBERT MAUNCELL Knight.

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS Knight.

SIR THOMAS BUTTON Knight.

SIR HENRY PALMER Knight.

CAPTAIN ARTHUR MANWARING Esquire.

CAPTAINE THOMAS LOUE Esquire.

CAPTAINE SAMUELL ARGALL Esquire.

EDWARD CLARKE Esquire, and Secretary to the Councell of Warre.

THE NAMES OF THE CAPTAINES, THE SHIPS, THEIR BURDENS, NUMBER OF MEN AND ORDNANCE IN HIS MAIESTIES SIXE SHIPS.

1. Sir Robert Mauncell Admirall in the Lyon, burden 600. tuns, men 250. Peeces of brasse Ordnance 40.
2. Sir Richard Hawkins Vice Admirall in the Vantguard, burden 660. tuns, men 250. Brasse Ordnance 40.
3. Sir Thomas Button Rere Admirall in the Rainbow, burden 660. tuns, men 250. Brasse Ordnance 40.
4. Captaine Arthur Manwaring in the Constant Reformation, burden 660. tuns, men 250. Brasse Ordnance 40.
5. Sir Henry Palmer in the Anthelope, burden 400. tun, men 160. Brasse Ordnance 34.
6. Captaine Thomas Loue in the Conuertine, burden 500. tun, men 220 Brasse Ordnance 36.

IN THE MARCHANTS SHIPS

1. Captaine Samuel Argall in the Golden Phenix, burden 300 tuns.
2. Captain Christopher Harries in the Samuel, burden 300. tuns, men 120. Iron Ordnance 22.
3. Sir John Fearne in the Mary gold, burden 260 tun, men 100. Iron Ordnance 21.
4. Captaine John Penington in the Zouch Phenix, burden 280 tuns, men 120. Iron Ordnance 26.
5. Captaine Thomas Porter in the Barbery, burden 200 tuns, men 80. Iron Ordnance 18.
6. Sir Francis Tanfield in the Centurion, burden 200. tun, men 100. Iron Ordnance 22.
7. Sir John Hamden in the Primrose, burden 180. tuns, men 80. Iron Ordnance 18.
8. Captain Eusabey Caue in the Hercules, burden 300 tuns, men 120. Iron Ordnance 24.
9. Captaine Robert Haughton in the Neptune, burden 280 tuns, men 120. Iron Ordnance 21.
10. Captaine John Chidley in the Marchant Bonauenture, burden 260. tuns, men 110. Iron Ordnance 23.
11. Captaine George Raymoond in the Restoure, burden 130. tuns, men 50. Iron Ordnance 12.
12. Captaine Thomas Harbert in the Marmaduke, burden 100. tuns, men 50. Iron Ordnance 12.

The Fleet thus furnished set saile in the sound of Plimmouth the 12. of October in the morning, in the yeare 1620; the wind being variable we turned and towed into the Channell, the weather being very faire in the euening wee steered along the Shore.

October

The 12. at noone wee had the Lizard West-North-West, 4. leagues off; this day and the next night we had little winde.

The 13. at noone hauing a fresh gale at North-North-West, wee making a South-West way, the Lizard at noone bare North-West and by North some 15. Leagures; the wind continuing as before we steered away South-West and by South.

The 17. in the morning wee made Cape Finister bearing of vs East-South-East some 13 leagues of.

The 24. we had sight of the Burlings in the morning, they bearing of vs South-South-East 5. leagues; the wind being then at South and by West, wee stood of West and by South, hauing much winde and raine.

The 28. we had sight of Mountchego, the body of it bearing East.

The 29. we fell with the Cape of Spaine, and haling neere the shore saluted the Castle with our Ordnance, and they vs: here our Admirall sent a shore to enquire for letters of aduice which he exspected, but found none: at night wee set saile, the winde being at North-North-West, and the 30. at night we entred the straights.

The 31. in the morning we turned into the roade of Gibralter, where were riding at anchor two of the king of Spaines ships of warre, the Vice-Admirall of a squadron with the kings armes in his fore-top and another, who so soone as they perceiued vs weighed their anchors, set saile, & comming Leeward of our Admirall, strooke his flag, saluting him with their small shot & great Ordnance, after hailed him with voices; our Admirall striking his flag, answered them with voyces, gaue them his ordnce and small shot, all the fleete following in order: this done, wee saluted the towne with our Ordnance, the towne doing the like by answering vs. Our Admiral being at an Anchor, the Spanish Captaine, accompanied with other Gentlemen, came aboard our admirall, who tould vs that there were great store of Pirates abroade, and that two of the Pirates ships had fought with seven Spanish Gallyes, and had slaine them 400. men, and that they had beene at Steria a small towne with thirty sayle of ships and taken [illegible] and had taken it, and carryed away diuers prisoners, and that they had threatened to take Gibralter; there the Admirall sent his sick men ashore, having houses and lodgings prouided for them, amongst whom was Captaine John Fenner who here dyed.

NOUEMBER

Nouember the second about seven in the morning hauing a fresh gale at North-West, the Admirall with the rest of the fleet weighed Anchor and standing off, met North the reare Admirall of the Spanish fleete, who saluting vs with his Ordnance and we stood on our course North-East and by East, being bound for Malhaga.

The third about two in the Morning wee came to an Anchor in Malhaga roade, and about eight of the clocke wee saluted the towne with our Ordnance and diuers volleyes of small shot; here diuers Spaniards of account came aboord our ships whom we kindly entertained; here we likewise exspected letters but heard not of any.

The sixth our Admirall dispatched a Gentleman, one Mr. John Duppa with letters to the English Embassador at the Court of Spain, to let him know of our arriuall and proceedings. This day

about 11 of the clocke, the fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle the winde at North-West. But before wee weighed, our Admirall gaue order to the fleete to diuide themselues into three squadrons, the Admirall squadron was kept sixe leagues from the shore, with pendants in the maine toppes for their signes; the Vice-Admirals squadron three leagues without him, on his bowe with pendants on his foretops; the Reare-Admirall three leagues within him on his quarter with pendants on their Mysen tops, who diuiding themselues according to their order steered away East and by South alongst the shore, being bound for Allicant.

The seuenth, about sixe in the morning it being calme, and all the fleete together, the Admirall tooke in all her sayles and lay a hull, all the fleete doing the like, and Admirall put out his flag of generall Councell which was Saint George. Wherupon all the Captaines and Maisters repayred aboord him, where it was concluded, and thought meet that two ships of least draught of water, and one Pinnace should hale the shore close aboord to see if any Pirates were at an Anchor, either in Bayes or Coues, and to free the shore; here likewise was giuen a word whereby to know our owne fleet from others, if any strangers should chance to fall amongst vs in the night; the word was Greenwich Tower. The Councell ended, and euery man repaired aboord his owne ship; in the euening the whole fleet in their order sayled alongst towards Cap Degat.

The eight and ninth daies hauing but little wind we gained not much way.

The tenth in the morning falling with the point of Muttrill, and hauing the winde Southerly, the whole fleete put into the roade and there Anchored.

The 13. about ten in the morning our Admirall shot of a warning peece, that all such that were of the fleete might repaire aboord, and about foure in the afternoone hauing a faire gale at west, set sayle and steered away East and by South.

The 14. at nine in the morning wee were thwart of Cap Degatt, the winde continuing Westerly wee shaped our course North East and by East alongst the shore.

The 19. in the morning wee came to Anchor in Allicant roade, where the whole fleete saluted the towne with their Ordnance, and the towne vs: here our Admirall hauing prouided houses for his sicke men, as before he had done at Gibralter, sent 37. sicke men of his owne ships company a shore; here likewise he dispatched a Gentleman one Master Walter Long to Carthagena with letters of aduice, but all this while could receiue no such letters as we expected.

The 25. being fitted with Wine, Water, and other such necessaryes as we wanted, the winde being Northerly, the whole fleet

set saile, leauing behind the Good Will [1] out of whom our Admirall had taken most of her men to supply his wants for those sicke he left a shore, and being vnder saile we shaped our course South West for Algiers.

The 27. about ten in the morning we came to an Anchor in Algier roade in 27. fadome water out of command of the towne or Castle, the Admirall and Rere-Admirall wearing white ancients on their poopes, the rest of the fleete wearing no ancients at all, going in the whole fleete saluted the towne with their Ordnance, but the towne gaue vs none again: this day it blew much winde, our Admirall could send no Boates a shore where we rode, we had the Cape some sixe miles of West-North-West, the 3. miles of West, and Mount Defourt East-North-East about seven or eight miles of.

The 28. our Admirall sent a Gentleman a shore one Captaine Squibe with a white flag of truce in his boate to giue the Vice-Roy to vnderstand the cause of our comming; hereupon the Vice-Roy sent a boate aboord our Admirall with a white flag and foure men in her, one principall man in the towne who deliuered our Admirall, signifying the Vice-Roy had receiued command from the grand Seignour to vse vs with all respect, and that our men might haue the free liberty of the shore to buy fresh victuals or whatsoeuer they wanted; they promised our Admirall if on the morrow hee would send any Gentleman of quality a shore with the kings Maiesties letters, that vpon the shooting off a peece of Ordnance according to our Admirals demand he should receiue sufficient hostages aboord for his safety: this night the Pyrates brought in three prizes, one Flemming, the other two Englishmen, the one a Plimmouth man, & the other of North Yarmouth.

The 29. in the morning our Admirall sent Captaine Squibe a shore againe with letters, importing as well a speedy dispatch, as also to giue the notice what pledges he demanded for such Gentlemen as were then ready to goe a shore with his Maiesties letters: about foure in the afternoone, our Admirall shooting off a peece of Ordnance according to promise sent Captaine John Roper [2] in his Barge, accompanyed with diuers other Gentlemen of qualitie to carry the Kings letters to the Bashaw & Duana, but before they got a shore word was brought them that the Principall of the Duana were gone into the Country, and that the pledges were not ready, but the next morning they should not fayle, whereupon they returned aboord againe. This

[1] The *Good Will* is not included in Burton's list of ships; she is mentioned, as has been noticed, by Mr. Oppenheim as an hospital ship. Burton's present statement appears to intend to represent her as a merchant ship, denuded of her men to supply shortage through sickness in men-of-war.

[2] His brother-in-law.

day towards the euening there came in 3. saile of ships, the winde blowing fresh at South West.

The 30. the Admirall called a generall Councell of all the Captaines and Maisters in the fleet, where it was debated, whether the fleet might ride in safety or not, till wee had concluded our businesse here; it was generally concluded that by God's prouidence wee might ride without hazard.

December

December the first, in the morning the winde at South West faire weather, came in eight sayle of ships, and one saile, whereof some were Turkes Pyrate; other Pyrates. This day the Admirall sent a shore one Master James Friswell to expect our businesse, for whose safety we receiued foure Turkes for hostage: this day in the afternoone came in two ships.

The second in the morning went out foure sayle of Turkish Pyrates, the wind at South west a fresh gale; this day the Admirall sent Captaine John Roper a shore with his Maiesties letters, and two principall men of the towne were sent a boord in hostage for him.

The third came sixe of the king of Spains ships into the roade, the Admirall striking his flag saluted our Admirall with small shot and Ordnance: this done, he came aboord our Admirall in his boate and tould him he came in pursuite of certaine Pirates who had taken diuers of their men, who being in a ship of 700. tuns neere Carthagena, in fight with a Turkish Pirate, had bourded her, entred her men and taken her, had not there owne ship vnfortunately fallen on fire with a mischance hapning, they were forced to forsake the Turkes ship to saue their owne, and so lost both for being not able to quench the fury of the fire were forced to veeld themselues to the slauery of the Turkes to saue their liues, being in all 300. men, whereof 30. perished in the fire. This Spanish Admiral sayling neere the town the Turkes shot 74. great shot at him, and he gaue them some 16. backe in exchange, but the distance betweene them was so farre, that the shot falling short, no harme was done on either side.

The fourth, our Admirall receiued from the towne an answer of the Kings letters.

The sixth, after long debating, finding the Turks perfidious and fickle, as well in detaining our messenger who deliuered his Maiesties letters, notwithstanding wee had sufficient hostages for him, as in breaking all other promises: in the end it was agreed thus; vpon leauing a Consull with them, they would let our messenger come aboord againe; whereupon the Admirall sent a common man well cloathed by the name of a Consull, whom they receiued with good

respect & sending our messenger aboord, receiued their owne pledges, and deliuered vs some 40. poore captiues, which they pretended was all they had in the towne; this was all wee could draw from them.

The seuenth in the morning our Admiral sent a letter with instruction to our Councell, with another letter to the Bashawe, to let him know how ill wee tooke his perfidious dealing.

The eight in the morning our Admiral and all the rest of the fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle; the wind being West, wee steered away North till noone, and then bearing vp, shaped our course North-East and by East, being bound for Calerie.

The 10. day at night the winde shifted to the South and East, and so to the East.

The 11. in the morning the winde Easterly the Admirall altered his course, and steered for Maylorca.

The 13. at night hauing the winde West wee came to an Anchor in the Bay of Port Columbra, a Bay on the South side of Maylorka.

The 14. in the morning we weighed, and the same night came to Anchor in the Rode of Alacotha on the North side of the sayde Iland; wee found this to be a very good place, yeelding vs wood, water and ballast, whereof we had great need; the people very kind and courteous, bringing vs great store of all manner of prouisions which we bought at easie rates, whereby we supplyed our wants, and releeued our sicke men, whereof we had great store in our fleete.

The 24. in the morning the fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle, the winde at West-South-West, the weather thicke and rainy till noone, and then clearing vp, the winde shifted to the South-South-East, wee sayled out by the North East ende of the Iland.

The 25. about nine at night came eight or nine sayle of Turks into our fleet, whom so soone as we discouered, we chased them and made diuers shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped vs.

The 26. about three in the afternoone we put into Alicant Rode, hoping there to receiue letters of aduice, else some newes of a supply of vituals out of England, but missed both. The 27. at night the Reare-Admirals squadron went out to Sea in pursuit of two Turkes Pyrates, who had not taken aboue three houres before two Flemish ships; the Flemmings quiting their ships, saued themselues in their boates.

The 29. the Reare-Admirall returned but saw no Turke.

The 31. there was great joyes, triumphs, and solemne processions in the citie of Alacant for joy of a great overthrow which was giuen to the king of Bohemia,

JANUARY

Januarie the first, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea againe with his squadron vpon the discouery of some ships in the Offine who prooued to bee English and French, bound in for the Rode of Alicant.

The second the Reare-Admirall with his squadron returned into the Roade.

The fourth at night the Constant Reformation and the Golden Phenix had order to go to Sea to seeke two Pyrates ships which wee heard were on the Christian shore.

The fifth at night the Constant and the Phenix returned into the Rode againe, but met not with any.

The sixth the Vice-Admirall with his squadron set sayle for Malhaga to see if they could here of any newes of a supply of victuals or whether the two pinnaces which were long expected were come hither.

The 12. Master John Duppa came from Carthagena, bringing with him a packet of letters of aduice sent out of England bearing date the 14. of December; he signified that there was sixe months victuals sent out of England for a supply of his Maiesties ships, and that they were at Malhaga with the two Pinnaces. This night the Rere-Admirall with his squadron was sent to Sea, to see if he could meet with certaine Pirates which wee had entelligence of.

The 13. the Reformation, the Samuel, and the Restore put to Sea, to see if they could meet with any Pirates.

The 18. the Reformation with the other ships returned into the Rode, where wee found the reare-Admirall with his squadron likewise returned but met no Pirates.

The 21. there came a flemish boate with 15. Flemmings in her aboord our Admirall, who being chased by the Turkish Pirates off of Cap Martine, left their ship and saued themselues by their boate; this night was the Anthelope with other ships sent out to see if they could meete with them.

The 24. the Anthelope with the other ships returned into the Rode, but met with none.

The 25. our Admirall being inuited to the English Consuls house, went a shore, where at his arriuall he was entertained with small shot and Ordnance both from the towne and Castle, and at night with fireworkes, running of horses, shooting of Ordnance and other sports; this day Captaine John Roper was dispatched with letters for England.

The 26. our Admirall returned aboord, the towne giuing him a friendly farewell with their Ordnance.

The 27. the Admirall with the rest of the fleet set sayle, leauing the Marmaduke behind, whose Captaine and Master were both sicke a shore.

The 28. at midnight wee met with seuen sayle of Flemmings ships of war neere Cape Paule vnder the command of Captaine Haughton Admirall of Zealand, who the next morning, after hee had saluted our Admirall with Ordnance, came aboord in his boate; he told our Admirall he had 22. ships of warre vnder his charge, whom he had diuided into squadrons, imploying them some without the straights, and some within.

The 30. wee had very much winde at South West, but the weather being cleared we turned to windward till foure in the after noone, and then it blew so hard that we were forced to beare vp the Helme and put roome for Alicant rode.

The 31. We came to an Anchor again in Alicant roade.

February

February the first the Rere-Admirall put to Sea with 4 ships, to see if he could meet with any Pyrates, and this day dyed Captaine Eusabey Caue, Captaine of the Hercules, and the Admirall disposed the command of the same ship to Captaine Alexander Bret.

The 5. the Rere-Admirall returned with the other 4. ships but had met none.

The 6. the wind being Easterly, the fleet weighed Anchor about midnight, shaping our course for Malhaga; during the time of our staying here we refreshed our sicke men a shore, hauing conuenient houses prouided for them in the feelds Gardens with carefull people to attend them, prouiding them such necessaries as they should need. The Constant for her part sent a shore 92. persons, who as they recouered their strength were sent for a boored; yet notwithstanding all their care, at their departure they were forced to leaue behinde them 42. desperately ill, the Admirall taking order both for them and others, that they should be carefully prouided for vntill the fleets returne.

The 9. in the evening, being a thwart Malhaga wee were in the morning put to lee ward of our port, the wind blowing hard at East.

The 10. we kept it vp windward what we could, but the storme increasing, all the kings ships lost their long boates.

The 11. we were forced to beare vp for Gibraltar where the same day we came to an Anchor in the Rode, all but the Golden Phenix and the Restore, who recouered Malhaga.

The 12. our Admiral dispatched letters to Malhaga to the Vice-Admirall to let him know that he and the rest of the fleete were put into Gibraltar, willing him to repaire thither with the rest of the ships with him if the winde should continue Easterly, but if it came Westerly, then the Admirall purposed to go to Malhaga.

The 16. came into the Rode the Vice-Admirall and his squadron with the two Pinnaces which wee so long expected out of England,

the one the Mercury of the burden 240. tuns, 65. men, and 26. peeces of Brasse Ordnance, vnder the command of Captaine Phineas Pett; the other the Spye, of the burden of 160. tuns, 55. men, and 18. peeces of Brasse Ordnance, vnder the command of Captaine Edward Gyles: there came also two Merchants ships with a supply of victuals for his Maiesties ships.

The 18. the Zouch Phenix, the Hercules, the Neptune and the Spie put to Sea, with order to ply betweene Gibralter and Shutte point.

The 19. the Anthelope put to Sea, and with those ships which went out the day before, had order to ride in Shutte-Rode, to see if they could descry any Pyrates come into the Straights.

The 23. the Rere-Admirall put to Sea with 5. other ships, the Golden Phenix, the Samuel, the Centurion, the Marigold, and the Restore, with order to ride in Tansey Bay, where they were to attend the comming in of diuers Pyrates whom we heare to be without the straights mouth: this day come in a Brigandine from Shutie, who brought our Admiral word, that those ships which had put out the 18. had taken a prize.

The 24. the Anthelope with the rest of the ships returned bringing with them a prize being a small Frenchman which had 50. buts of Oyle in her, and diuers Moores and Jewes, men, women and children, passengers bound from Tituon to Algiere, all the Turkes sauing themselues in their boate: this day also came into the Rode Captaine Gyles Penne in a ship of Bristoll from Tituon Rode, bringing a letter from the Mogoden to our Admirall, and two Moores who treated with him concerning the redemption of their people whom our ships had taken, offering for so many Moores, so many English, whom they held in town as slaues, hauing bought them of the Turkes Pyrates.

The 27. the Samuell and the Centurion returned into the Rode from Tansey; there also went out the Anthelope, the Zouch Phenix, the Barbery, the Neptune, and the Restore, with order to ride at Shutey to see if they could discouer any Pyrates comming into the straights, the winde being Westerly.

The 28. the winde likewise Westerly, the Reformation hauing taken in some of the Captiues, had order to weigh and set sayle for Tituon to treat with the Moores and to take in her company the Samuell, the Bonauenture, and the ship of Bristoll, where the same day about noone they came to an Anchor in the Rode of Tituon in 12. fadome water, the winde at West.

MARCH

The first, there came into the Roade to vs our Admirall, the Mercury, the Spye, the winde at West.

The second in the afternoone came certaine Moores aboored our

Admirall, deliuering him a letter from the Mogoden, importing that on the Morrow they would bring downe all the English slaues, whom they would exchange for their owne people.

The third at twelue of the clocke came two Moores, men of qualitie, a boord our Admirall, to let him know the Mogoden was at the water side; whereupon the Admirall sent Master Edward Clarke, Secretary of the Councell of warre, to treate with him, who returned the same night without effecting anything to purpose.

The fourth, Master Ashfield, Minister of the Reformation dyed, much lamented of the whole company, of whom in the extreame of their sicknesses they had receiued much comfort.

The fifth, hauing a faire gale at South-East, our Admirall with the rest of the fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle for Gibraltar hauing concluded nothing with the Mogoden.

The sixth wee came to an Anchor in Gibraltar Rode, where wee found our Vice-Admirall with his squadron.

The 8. the winde Westerly the Anthelope, the Samuell and the Spye set sayle for Tituon.

The 9. in the morning the Admirall, the Reformation, the Mercury, and the Barbery set saile for Tituon, leauing the Vice-Admirall with his squadron behind in the Rode, who had the wind at West-South-West, but bringing the straights mouth open found it all Southerly, a hard gale with a stiffe currant setting to the Eastward, the Reformation got that night into Tituon Rode where they found the Anthelope with the other ships.

The 10. about ten in the morning the Mercury came into the Rode, but the Admirall and the Barbary being put to lee ward and not able to turne it vp, bore vp the helme for Malhaga; this day also in the morning Captaine Penne being ouer confident of the Moores faith and promises, with whom hee had a long time traded, went a shore without cautions, whom the Mores made stay of, hoping thereby the better to recouer their owne people whom we held captiues.

The 11. the wind being Easterly, we all set sayle to Malhaga, the Bristol ship onely staying behinde to see if they would send down their Captaine, who had done them many kinde offices to our Admirall, in comming twice with his ship from Tituon to Gibraltar, onely to treate with our Admirall on their behalfe, and at their request; being out of the Roade we met with the Primrose, whom the Vice-Admirall had sent vnto vs to let vs know that he was gone for Malhaga.

The 13. wee came to an Anchor in Malhaga Roade, where we found our Admirall with the rest of our fleete all but the Good Will, who comming out of Gibraltar with the Vice-Admirals squadron had lost their companies in the night; in the time we spent here, the fleete tooke in some Beereage, Wine, some Wood and Water.

The 28. about eight in the morning the Admirall, and Rere-Admirall set sayle for Alicant, leauing behinde the Vice-Admirall with fiue other ships, the Reformation, the Samuell, the Centurion, the Bonauenture, and the Restore, for to attend the conquest of a remainder of a supply of victuals which was to come out of England.

April

The 2. my Captaine, Captain Arthur Mannering died, a gentleman of an excellent temper, not easily moued to passion; though many times occasion hath been purposely offered, he mastred his affections with that discretion that he gained loue euen from his enemyes: in his priuate command hee could so well mixe clemency with seueritie together, that he was both feared and loued, so seriously searching into the mystery of his new profession, that he would soone haue equalled the best Captaine, both for iudgement and command: & his death bred a generall lament in the whole fleet, and some alteration in the sway of most curious business, the wheele euer since turning with the violent motion of a selfe willed mouer.

The 10. hearing no newes of our supply of victuals, Vice-Admirall with the other fiue ships set sayle for Alicant, the winde West ward.

The 14. about three in the afternoone we came to an Anchor in Alicant Rode, where wee found our Admirall with the rest of the fleet: here our Admirall had hired a Pollacre about the burden of 120. tunne, for that she was reported to be an excellent sayler, and likewise bought three Brigandines which rowed with nine oares on a side: he also hyred a house wherein hee made diuers workes for the firing of the shippes within the Mould of Algiere.

The 18. Sir Henrie Palmer under our Admiralls order remooued out of the Anthelope into the Reformation, and Captaine Alexander Bret into the Anthelope, and Sir Thomas Wilfad was made Captaine ouer the Hercules. This day also, my selfe for some respects remoued into the Centurion, notwithstanding I receiued many good perswasions from Sir Henrie Palmer to continue where I was.

The 21. we receiued letters out of England by a post sent from Malhaga, signifying a remainder of victuals which wee expected was arriued at Malhaga.

The 25. about nine in the morning the whole fleet sayle for Alicant Rode, being bound for Firma terra to supply our wants for wood.

The 28. in the euening hauing fitted our selues with wood, wee set sayle for Mayorke to take in water.

The 29. in the afternoone we came to an Anchor in Mayorke Rode. The towne of Maiorke is large and well fortified, the people

industrious both, men, women and children giuen to labour, louing and courteous to strangers: here we found all manner of victuals in plenty and at easie rates. Their chiefe Marchandise are Oyle, wood, and Cheese, whereof the countrey affoordeth plenty.

MAY

Hauing taken water, at three in the morning, vpon shooting off a warning peece, the whole fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle for Algiere, the winde Easterly a small breath.

The 21. at 6. in the afternoone we came to an Anchor in Algiere Roade, order being first giuen by our Admirall how euery ship should berth her selfe: the manner followeth: first the Kings ships and the Golden Phenix came to an anchor at their place vpon a South and North line, the Admirall riding in the middest of them, East of the South end of the Mould. Next to the Admirall on the North side came to an Anchor the Reformation, the Golden Phenix on the South side, the Phenixe and Conuertine on the South side, the Phenixe and Anthelope on the Northside the Reformation, the Vice-Admirall innermost on the Southside, the Rere-admirall vttermost on the North side.

The kings ships hauing berthed themselues, the rest of the fleete who this time plyed vp and downe vnder sayle, came to a sterne to the Admirals of their Squadrons, giuing good berthes one to another, the winde being then Westerly: but if the winde had beene Easterly, then were they to haue beene anchored a head between the Kings ships and the Easterne shore, keeping the Kings ships and the Phenix betweene them and the towne, where the force of the Pyrates remained.

The ships being come to an anchor in their orders, our Admirall caused sixe of the Marchants ships presently to weigh, with directions to ply off and on of the Westernmost part, keeping as neere the shore as conueniently they might, to preuent the comming in of any Pyrates between the fleete and the shore. In the beginning of this night the Boats and Brigandines appointed for the assistance of two ships which our Admirall resolued should that night goe into the Mould, and there to set themselues on fire, being chained and linked to the Pyrates ships, repaired aboord our Admirall there to receiue their directions. The manner and preparations for firing of the ships was thus.

First, there were two small ships which we had taken from the Turkes, the one of the burden of an hundred tunnes, the other of sixtie, with great store of fire-workes in them. There was layde in them plenty of dry wood, of Ocham, Pitch, Rozen, Tarre, Brimstone and other materials fit to take fire: they had likewise in them Chaines and Grapnels of iron to fasten themselves to the ships which they

were to fire: they had also boates to bring off their men when they had fired the ships: then were there three Brigandines fitted with firebals, buckets of wilde-fire, and fire pikes to make their fire-workes fast vnto the ships: there was also a gundlod[1] fitted with fire-workes, Chaines and Grapnels of iron; shee was to goe into the middest of the ships in the Mould, where fastning her to some ship, was to be set on fire. She had likewise with her a boat to bring off her men. Likewise there were seuen boates which we called boates of rescue, well filled with armed men, who were to rescue and releeue the boates of execution if they should chance to be pursued by other boates or galleys at their comming off. These had also fire-workes in them to fire the ships which rode without the Mould: these boates being all aboord, the Admirall sent for most of the Captains and Masters in the fleete to aduise whether it were fit to attempt it with boates and Brigandines, in regard it was little winde, and that Westerly, so that it was impossible for the ships to get in. After some deliberation, it was concluded that it was not fit, for that the surest and most certaine meanes of firing was by the ships which were to bee made fast to the ships in the Mould, and to burne with them. Whereupon it was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunity was offered.

The 22. at night there were like preparations made, but deferred for like reasons.

The 23. in the beginning of the night wee had a fresh gale of wind at South-West by South continuing the space of two houres or more, with thunder, lightning, and some drops of raine: the two ships weighed, and with the Brigandines and Boates set forwards towards the Mould, but the winde shifting before they came neere, they were forced also to giue ouer for that night.

The 24. at night after a great showre of raine, we had the wind out of the Bay at South-South-West; the weather then cleering vp both the ships and boates aduanced themselues toward the Mould as before they had done: but comming within lesse then Musket shot of the Moulds head it fell calme, so that the ships could by no meanes get in, the Boates and Brigandines finding that they were discouered by reason of the brightnesse of the Moone which was then at full, and hearing it reported by a Christian captive which did swimme from the towne the night before to the ships, that the Turkes had left their shippes without guard sauing one or two in a ship, as fearing no such attempt from vs. And moreouer hearing the Alarum giuen to the towne by those which kept watch on the walles, with good resolution went on, but wanting winde to nourish and disperse the fire, the fire-workes tooke no effect at all. In this seruice were onely sixe men

[1] Gunlod—a vessel filled with combustibles, but rather for explosion than as a fire-ship. (Smyth's "Sailor's Word Book.")

slaine out right, foure or fiue dangerously hurt (which not long after dyed) and some thirteene sleightly hurt, yet notwithstanding the attempt was giuen vnder the walles of the towne, where both small shot and Ordnance played continually vpon them: the hurt done our men was their comming off, for that they were got into the Mould before the towne was risen, and being in, the ships in the Mould defended them both from small shot and ordnance of the towne, our boats still keeping the ships betweene them and the towne.

The 25. there came in foure saile of Pyrates by the Westermost point of land notwithstanding 6. ships were appointed to lye off at that place, for the wind being Westward and a great currant setting to the Eastward, our ships were put so farre to leeward that they could not preuent the pyrates coming in between the shore and them, but yet the Bonauenture loosed so neere that there passed some shot betweene her and the Pyrates ships, but no hurt done: this night our Admirall and the whole fleete weighed Anchor and stood off to the Sea.

The 26. the fore part of the day the wind was shifting to and fro, from the South-east to the South-west; in the afternoone at South, and South-South-east, hard gale and rainy weather; and at night hauing the winde shifting at South and South-west, we played off and on all night by a winde.

The 27. we had a fresh gale at West, and west North-west, and this euening we saw two ships to wind-ward of vs, but what they were I know not.

The 28. We had faire weather, the wind Westerly: this night the Bonauenture and the Hercules put a Pyrate a shore, hee hauing a hundred and thirty Turks in her, and twelue poore Christians captiues, they were al drowned but twelue Turkes who got to the shore by swimming.

The 30. we got into the Bay and Anchored three miles off the towne, and in turning in, the towne and castle made 15. great shot at the Vantguard, the Rainbow, and two other, Marchants ships, but did no hurt.

The 31. in the morning our boates tooke vp two Genoways captiues, who aduentured to swim from the towne to the ships. They tould that the same night our ships stood off to Sea, there came into the Mould seuen of the best ships belonging to Algiere, and that if we had stayed they had fallen into our laps. They likewise told vs that the Turks had boomed vp the Mould, so that it was not possible for either ship or boate to get into fire the ships, which were not filled with armed men, besides three gallyes and 15. boates which lay continually well fitted without the Mould before the Boome for a Guard.

JUNE

The second our ships that were appointed to ply it too and gaine before the Rode, tooke a ship off the Easterne point of the Bay, which came from Legorne and was bound for Algiere for trade with diuers Merchants Iewes in her, and a Flemming who had diuers letters from the Prince of Orange and the States, both to the Bashaw and Duana: shee was laden with Venice cloth, Legorne dishes, and diuers other commodities: there was also found in her two or three thousand pound in ready money: this morning, the weather calme, three gallyes rowed out of the Mould by our ships, at whom wee made diuers shot, but few or none did reach them they were so farre off. At night they returned to the Mould againe. During the time of our ships riding before the towne we sent euery night certain boats which kept watch between the towne and the fleete, as well to giue the fleet Alarums vpon all occasion as to take vp and saue such poore christian captives as should aduenture to saue themselues by swimming from the slauery of the Turkes: which boates saued diuers both Spanish, French and Dutch, by whom we were certainely informed as well of the Booming vp of the Mould, as of the drowning of an hundred and thirty Turkes.

The fourth, finding those relations to be true, and that there was no possibility of doing any more seruice vpon the Pyrates at that time, vpon the shooting off a warning peece from the Admirall, the whole fleet set sayle for Alicant.

The eight in the morning we came to anchor in Alicant Rode, where wee found Captaine John Roper who was returned out of England with letters from my Lord Admirall, and order for the present discharging and sending home of foure of the Kings shippes, that is to say, the Vantguard, the Rainbow, the Reformation, and the Anthelope.

Here we stayed till the thirteenth day in which time wee refreshed our selues with water and fresh victuals, and sold away the prizes which we had taken, payed our debts which we owed at our former being there, for prouisions for the fleete; here our Admirall discharged the Pollacre which he hyred; here also he deliuered seuen & twenty Turkes a shore for their ransome to Seigniour Emperiall Consull for the English.

The thirteenth about ten at midnight the Admirall shot off a warning peece, whereupon all the fleete weighed Anchor and set sayle for Malhaga.

The sixteenth, wee met with twelue sayle of Flemmings of Cape Legat, whereof fiue were Holland men of warre vnder the command of Captaine Quashe, the rest Marchants ships.

The 21. the whole fleete met at Anchor in Malhaga Rode.

JULY

The third in the morning it was signified to the Admirall and the Councell of Warre vnder the Masters and Officers hands of the Lyon, that she was so defectiue that she could not any longer be continued out, without eminent peril of perishing, whereupon it was thought fit and resolued, that notwithstanding my Lord Admirals order was to send home the Vantguard she should bee continued out till the next supply of shipping, and that the Lyon should bee sent home: wherevpon our Admirall with his prouisions presently remoued into the Vanguard, and Sir Richard Hawkins into the Lyon. Here wee also dismissed by our Admirals order Zouch Phenix, the Marigold, the Primrose & the Restore, sufficient reasons by the Masters being giuen, that they were vnfit for longer seruice.

The fifth, I remoued my selfe into the Reformation, hauing got passage for England.

The sixth hauing taken in our remainder of Victuals, some Beuerage, Wine, Water, and Oyle, the whole fleete set sayle hauing a small breath off the shore North West, got no further then the Molena poynt.

The seuenth, hauing little winde that while, and currant against vs, wee gayned little or nothing.

The eight, the Reformation and three or foure other ships got at Virgerow Rode, where they came to an Anchor, the Admirall and the rest of the fleete not gayning any thing, were faine to Anchor at Malhaga poynt, the winde at West-South-West fayre weather.

The tenth, about eight in the morning a faire gale springing up at North East, the fleete set sayle, our Admirall bound for Cales.

The twelfth, the whole fleet being come within three or foure miles of the towne of Cales, the Vice-Admiral, Rere-Admirall, and the rest of the ships bound for England, tooke their leaues of the Admirall and the rest of the fleete, foure or fiue hundred peeces of Ordnance being discharged on both sides for a farewell, the Admirall with his company stood in for Cales, the Vice-Admirall and the rest of the ships stood off to Sea, the winde at South West, and by the West.

The fifteenth and sixteenth we had little wind and that variable, but so thicke a fogge both dayes, wee could hardly see two ships length from vs.

The seuenteenth in the morning the weather reasonable clear, wee had lost sight of all our fleete, but the Anthelope and the Marigold, and hauing Cape Saker North-North-East some foure leagues off, and the winde Northerly, a hard gale, we came to an Anchor in the Bay, here we Rode vntill the three and twentieth, all this time the wind blowing at North-North-West very stormy.

The fiue and twentieth the wind passed against the Sunne to the West-South-West, the Cape bearing East thirty leagues off.

The eight and twentieth wee lost sight of the Anthelope and Marigold in the Latittude of 41, 32. leagues off the shore.

AUGUST

Avgust the second wee heaued the lead and had ground at 94. fadome Ushant East-N.-East 26. leagues off.

The third at foure in the afternoone we fell with the Bolt.

The number of the ships Brigandines and boates which were appointed to goe into the Mould to fire the ships with the names of the Captaines that Commanded them.

CAPTAINE WALSINGHAM, and CAPTAINE STOKES, Captaines of the two ships to be fired in the Mould.

CAPTAINE HUGHES, CAPTAINE TALL, CAPTAINE PEPWELL, Captaines of the three Brigandines.

THE CAPTAINES OF THE BOATES.

CAPTAINE FRAMPTON, Liefetenant to SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

CAPTAINE WINKER, Liefetenant to Sir Henrie Palmer.

CAPTAINE TURNER out of the Admirall.

CAPTAINE DODGE, Liefetenant to Sir Francis Tanfield.

CAPTAINE BOYES in Captaine Argels boat.

CAPTAINE FREWEN, Liefetenant to Captaine Haughton.

CAPTAINE BUTTON, Liefetenant to Sir Thomas Button.

FINIS

Thus far John Button; as a contemporary record his journal is beyond question, and must be accepted as affording a faithful account of the main incidents of the voyage; there are, however, a considerable number of letters among the MSS. in the British Museum which throw valuable sidelights upon the conduct of the expedition, and the difficulties and disappointments which befell Sir Robert Mansel in the enterprise; also some few allusions in the Calendar of State Papers, but these last are merely obvious provisions in view of the impending expedition, such as the pressing of seamen, credits for money, etc.

On July 19, 1620, Buckingham, as lord high admiral, wrote to the Spanish ambassador, telling him what instructions Mansel was to receive, and requesting him to cause information to be given to Mansel, as he sailed down the Spanish coast, of any pirates that may have been sighted, continuing: "He is a worthy gentleman, and a good and experienced soldier. Both he and all that accompany him have special order from the King my master to serve His Majesty of Spain, and in all things to observe his will and service, as if it were for the King my master. And he hath likewise order not to stand upon ceremonies and punctilios, which do oftentimes overthrow business of great importance."

Buckingham further enlarges upon the desirability of mutual courtesy and goodwill between the English and Spanish commanders, etc.[1]

In January, 1621, we have some strong complaints from Sir Robert Mansel against the Spaniards.

The six Spanish men-of-war, which, as Button relates, arrived at Algiers on December 4, were without doubt sent there to spy upon Mansel, and find out what he was doing; and finding him lying at anchor, and communicating frequently with the shore, in faithful pursuance of the instructions he had received from the king, they chose to assume that he was negotiating a dishonourable truce with the pirates, and proceeded to spread this report in Spain, where it

[1] Addit. MSS., 36444, fol. 65.

obtained full credence for a time; there is abundant evidence of this in sundry letters.

Mansel's official correspondence was apparently conducted almost entirely through the English ambassador at Madrid (Sir Walter Aston), and in a letter of January 13 he points out that he was carrying out the king's instructions, and denies that he had any Turks on board his ships, save in the way of hostages for his messengers (a very necessary precaution); and how could he conduct negotiations except at anchor? It was, he says, much against his will, and he was only too well aware that he could not then hinder the going and coming of pirates and prizes: "Now that the parley is over, the ill-affected shall soon realise, if I may have the necessary means from the State of Spain, which by the treaties are granted, and which the State of England doth not afford, that His Majesty's forces shall give a greater blow in the spring than all Christendom hath done against the pirates in the past."

Mansel further points out that though the king, and he, as the king's representative, have been grossly slighted and abused by the Viceroy and Duana (or Council) of Algiers, he has kept his word and refrained from hostile action, though he could, had he so pleased, have battered down the town.

He has, he pleads, done his utmost to guard the Straits, sending his vice- and rear-admirals constantly in pursuit of pirates —and so forth.

Has only had one letter from his wife, and does not know whether she is dead or alive; and not a private line from any friend in all the packets that have arrived; is in ignorance as to his own private fortunes; however, he resigns himself to God.[1]

Mansel was, in fact, very sore when he wrote this letter; and it is scarcely to be wondered at.

On this same day Mansel writes to the lord admiral; and it is remarkable that, while his letter to Sir Walter Aston is dated from St. Lucar, near Cadiz, that to the lord admiral is dated from Alicante, where Button places the flagship on this day; indeed,

[1] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 6.

according to Button, Mansel was never at St. Lucar during the whole period of the enterprise. There are three towns of St. Lucar in the south of Spain, only one being on the coast: no such town appears anywhere near Alicante, which is four or five hundred miles from St. Lucar on the coast; so here is a curious discrepancy—unless there be some small inlet or hamlet in the Bay of Alicante which is so named, or was so named in those days.

After allusion to promised supplies to be sent to Malaga, Mansel says: "I may give your Lordship a brief list of my entertainment at Algiers. Never was the minister of any prince without cause so long delayed and so much abused as I was by the fair promises, faithless dealings, and treacherous intent of the Viceroy; nor never any King expressing so much justice and respect in his proceedings was so much slighted as the King my master by the Viceroy and Douana."

The admiral lets himself out again bitterly about his "entertainment" at Algiers—the casting of pearls before swine—then proceeds to describe his plan of cruising in the immediate future, and relates how much he missed the two pinnaces, which had been promised him, on Christmas night, when, as is briefly stated by Button, they encountered some pirates: "I met with divers Turkish men-of-war, the night being stormy and full of gusts, yet the fleet had six or seven several chases. The *Rainbow*, under the command of Sir Thomas Button, was within musket shot, raking her through very many times with his great ordnance, insomuch as many lamentable cries were heard from on board the pirate, which made them expect her present sinking, yet for all that she kept on her course without exchanging our shot, and in the end, after four hours chase, escaped; and it is almost incredible to relate in how short time those ships outsailed the whole fleet out of sight." [1]

An old story about pirates—they always seem to have had the speed to chase and the heels to escape.

Sir Robert writes again to Sir Walter Aston in January, sending him copies of the king's instructions, the Algerian viceroy's

[1] Harley MSS., 1581, fol. 70.

letters, and his own replies, obviously in justification of his proceedings; but there was delay and procrastination on all hands, the Spanish *mañana* being very much in evidence concerning the supply of galleys and other auxiliary vessels; in fact, there is abundant testimony that Mansel was very badly served, and constantly disappointed and thwarted by the non-arrival of stores, etc., at the appointed time; furthermore, as was so common in those days, there was a great deal of sickness of an infectious character, probably some form of typhus, on board his ships, so that he had frequently to land dozens of men, and find some sort of hospital accommodation for them in Spanish ports.

However, wrestling with these difficulties to the best of his ability, Sir Robert arrived at Algiers on May 21. John Button gives an interesting account of the precise and seamanlike manner in which the various ships were directed to take up their positions, which certainly reflects credit upon Mansel and his captains, who, according to Button, picked up their appointed berths with great accuracy.

Button's brief account of the attack upon the Algerian pirates within the Mole is considerably amplified by Mansel in letters to Sir Walter Aston and the lord admiral; and it was a very gallant affair.

Such enterprises at that time were, of course, entirely at the mercy of wind and weather; and in this instance the weather played them some scurvy tricks, and finally deprived them of the fruits of a well-devised and courageous attempt.

Six small vessels, loaded with combustibles, attended by a flotilla of boats, similarly provided, and manned by armed men, set out with a fair wind for the Mole; but just when they were opening the entrance the treacherous wind shifted right round against them.

The boats took the fire-ships in tow, and struggled along with them for a short time, but progress was so slow, and the fire from the forts, etc., so heavy, that it became evident that the attack could not be carried out in this fashion, and it was debated whether they should retreat and give it up. This, however, was not at all to their minds, and upon Captain Hughes, of one of the fire-ships, shouting, "Go in

with the boats!" the men responded with a cheer, and pulled in under the heavy fire, crying, "King James! King James!"—which was "quite English."

The boats got alongside the pirate ships inside the Mole, and actually succeeded in setting them alight in a number of places; all that was now required was a breeze to fan the flames, and in a very short time the Algerine vessels would have been blazing wrecks. Then the wind dropped entirely, and heavy rain came down.

The boats were compelled to retire, with a considerable number of casualties; and the pirates, assisted by the downpour, succeeded in so far subduing the flames that only two of their ships were rendered unserviceable.

Thus was Mansel's well-planned enterprise frustrated by sheer bad luck. Hawkins and Button pluckily dashed in and brought out the fire-ships from under the guns of the forts.

Mansel remained at Algiers for nearly a fortnight, seeking another opportunity of firing the pirate ships; but the Algerines very naturally took further precautions against attack by such intrepid men, and placed protective booms across the Mole entrance, besides stationing a number of well-armed boats to patrol outside the booms; they also contrived to send out word to their friends to avoid the harbour, so that no pirates appeared for Mansel to capture.

Being forbidden by his instructions to have recourse to his guns, and seeing no prospect of doing any further execution, provisions also becoming exhausted, Mansel returned to Alicante.

He attributes his failure in great measure to the non-arrival of the galleys, which he had repeatedly begged might be supplied by Spain, and which indeed had been promised. It may well be questioned whether the delay in supplying them was not intentional; in spite of the friendly protestations of the Spanish authorities, there was a dismal lack of corresponding action on their part.

After this there was no further attempt made upon Algiers. There is much correspondence between Mansel, Sir Walter Aston, and the lord admiral; it was debated whether another fleet should be sent out. Mansel's flagship, the *Lion*, was in a very bad condition, and a survey was held upon her by a number of captains and

shipwrights, among them Phineas Pett, who had come out in command of one of the two pinnaces which had been hastily built and despatched by the merchants to Mansel's assistance; it was decided that the *Lion* was not fit to remain out beyond the summer, and Mansel shifted his flag to the *Vanguard*.

On June 8 Mansel received orders to send home four of his men-of-war; a like number of merchantmen was also sent as being no longer seaworthy. These he expected would be replaced; but the action of the English Government in recalling these ships had no connection with the Algerian business; trouble had arisen with Holland in connection with the blockading of the Flemish ports on the renewal of war between Spain and the United Provinces, and our men-of-war were required in the Channel.

The upshot was that Mansel, instead of receiving reinforcements, was ordered home with the remainder of his fleet; and so the expedition for the extirpation of the pirates came to an end, the net result being, according to Mansel's detractors, the liberation of forty English captives!

This, however, is a very superficial and unjust view of the matter; and it is necessary, in order to vindicate Sir Robert Mansel's character and actions, that some authentic documents should be discussed, which serve to throw a different light upon the enterprise.

On March 22, 1621, Sir Robert wrote, from Malaga, some "Instructions to his nephew Rice,"[1] in which he gives a number of messages to the lord admiral, and dwells freely upon the numerous disappointments which tied his hands.

The six months' supply of provisions was short, also the munitions and a great part of the stores for the merchant ships; the balance was to have followed in sixteen days, but he has now been waiting seven weeks for it; had he received the full supplies as promised, he would have been able to carry out his purpose of blockading Algiers for three or four months.

He had already been about a month at Malaga, and had had

[1] The identity of this nephew Rice is obscure; he may have been the son of one of Sir Robert's sisters.

no news of the £1,500 to buy wines, etc., for the king's ships. Mr Burlimack's [1] bills were protested, and all those sent by Sir Thomas Smith and the rest of the Merchants' Committee to supply the merchant ships with £200 apiece were altogether refused.

If the victuals had been sent in time to Malaga, and thence to him, his sick men had been recovered, who now are weak, they that are dead had been landed, and under the care of physicians, his sound men had not been so affected, and he had by this time been before Algiers; the valuable time that should have been spent in carrying out His Majesty's service had been wasted running after the victuals, which should have sought him, and in seeking credit, etc.

Failing any hope of the promised stores, he has resolved to go to Algiers, and husband his provisions as well as he can, and the world will see that it was no fault of his that he had not spent all this time there.[2]

In a letter of the same date to Sir Walter Aston, he says that it has been publicly confessed by "divers of this nation" (Spaniards) that, since the arrival of his fleet in one town alone they have saved £6,000 which they usually lost by the pirates in other years: and that he has not received news of one capture by the pirates within the Straits. He will not be able to carry out the bombardment of the Algiers forts by day, as he intended, as the condition of his ship will not admit of his remaining out longer than the provisions last, etc.[3]

Then follows a letter from the lord admiral to the ambassador at Madrid, in which Buckingham alludes to the reports which had been circulated in Spain, that Mansel had concluded a dishonourable truce with the pirates: he refers to King James's instructions to Mansel, and to the correspondence between the latter and the viceroy at Algiers, and begs the ambassador to explain the whole

[1] Probably one of the London merchants who were disbursing the funds subscribed for the expedition.

[2] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 64.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 66. This must have been a provisional project, in case he failed in destroying the ships in the Mole: he never, as a matter of fact, received any authority to bombard Algiers.

matter to the King of Spain, and clear Mansel of the discreditable charge brought by the Spanish naval officers against him.[1]

On May 22, 1621, Sir Walter Aston writes a long letter to the lord admiral, in complete contradiction of various reports circulated against Mansel, and vindication of his conduct.

The ambassador states that, when he first heard these reports concerning Mansel's alleged remissness in not attacking Algiers, and his making a truce with the pirates, he had not read the king's instructions to Mansel, and so could make no effective reply: now he has read them (Mansel had sent him a copy), and has been able "to set straight and cure to the bottom such scandals as had infected and as yet stuck in the Court, giving the late King[2] and his ministers a large and true account of all that has passed, with which they seemed fully contented and satisfied . . . and that your Lordship may not singly rely upon me for the assuring you of the good content which Sir Robert Mansell doth give this State, I have sent your Lordship here enclosed a copy of a letter which Senr. Martin Arostoqui, Principal Secretary of War, sent me upon a paper which I lately caused to be delivered in the Council of State and War for their further satisfaction in his proceedings.

"Since his return from Algiers he hath taken two Turks men-of-war, and hath given still chase to all pirates that have come in sight, which hath been many; he hath besides secured this coast from all incursions of that kind of people, a misery which they are continually subject to, there being not a town burnt nor a subject of the King of Spain taken since the coming of the fleet into these seas; and, which is worthy of your Lordship's consideration, these prizes, these chases, this securing of the Spanish coast upon the Mediterranean, hath been a winter expedition, in all which time there hath not one of this King's ships looked out of their harbour."[3]

This handsome vindication disposes once for all of the allegation as to the futility of Mansel's proceedings; the entire suppression

[1] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 82.

[2] King Philip III. of Spain had recently died.

[3] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 136.

of the Barbary pirates during the whole winter and spring was a feat which certainly no other nation or commander had previously accomplished, or even attempted ; and it serves to emphasise the lack of foresight and appreciation of King James and his advisers, in not arranging, as some experienced sea-captains had suggested, for a sustained campaign against the pirates, whereby they would certainly have been entirely exterminated.

On June 28, 1621, Mansel writes to Sir Walter Aston concerning a charge which had been laid against him in Spain, that he had connived at, or actually participated in the capture of a Spanish vessel off Sardinia, having on board a Spanish lady of good position, who had been carried captive to Algiers—a transparently malicious and impossible accusation.

Sir Robert vehemently denies the charge, declaring that he was at Minorca when he heard of the occurrence, that the people there begged him to procure the lady's release, etc.

Enlarging upon the malice and ingratitude of the Spaniards, Mansel proceeds : "I have since the first time of my employment here secured this coast from the invasions of the pirates, in such sort as not the meanest fishermen in these parts but will acknowledge to have received comfort and security thereby. I have freed at least forty Spaniards and Portugals from the slavery of the Turks, and returned them to liberty, giving them means out of my own purse for their more convenient repair to the several places of their abode."

Mansel dwells also upon another report that he had been guilty of indiscretion or worse in "consorting with Hollanders," which he absolutely denies, and upon the failure of the Spaniards to provide the galleys which they had promised, and proceeds :

"My Lord, if these services of mine, performed with so much zeal to my Royal Master's commands, and so fervent a desire in me to hold all fair correspondence with this nation, shall deserve no other reward but discouragements and censures, first in taking away my good name and reputation, in charging me with the concluding a dishonourable peace with the pirates, and now in questioning my life

for piracy and breach of the articles of capitulation between both crowns; and that these unjust aspersions should take so deep an impression in the hearts of His Catholic Majesty and this State, as that they would make known the same unto my Royal Master, before they had informed themselves of the truth of that advertisement, I shall become an humble suitor unto my Royal Master (if these courses be continued) and shall likewise entreat your Honour's mediation for me, that I may be called home, and that some other may be employed in my stead, whose person may be more pleasing to this State," [1] etc.

One cannot but sympathise with Sir Robert Mansel in this remonstrance; it was not with him, personally, however, that the Spanish mischief-makers had their quarrel: they were jealous and apprehensive of the importance and power of an English fleet "up the Straits," and, while outwardly civil and compliant, used every underhand means to discredit the English admiral.

Such was the Algiers Expedition: it failed, as has already been acknowledged, of its ostensible object, the suppression of the Algerine pirates; but that any disgrace, or indeed any great discredit was justly incurred by Sir Robert Mansel in the affair cannot with any fairness be maintained.

He was not given a free hand in the first instance; there is a Latin saying, of Horace or somebody, "Mitte sapientem, et nihil dicas," which may be freely interpreted, "Appoint a good man, and don't hamper him with instructions." Mansel did not know of the ulterior motive which King James held up his sleeve; he loyally abided by his instructions, with the result which was inevitable. He was very badly served in the matter of supplies—people at home did not take the trouble to realise the vital importance of being up to time in such matters—and he had shocking bad luck in his attack upon the ships in the Mole; nevertheless, he contrived to accomplish more in the way of suppressing the Corsairs than had ever been done before, and it was not his fault if the

[1] Addit. MSS., 36445, fol. 153.

business was not followed up and carried out to the bitter end.[1]

As has already been indicated, Sir Robert Mansel deemed it necessary, about the time of the separation of the fleet before he was recalled to England, to write a long letter to Buckingham concerning Sir Thomas Button.

After reminding the lord admiral that Button had considered himself slighted in not having been made vice-admiral in the expedition, Mansel explains that he had already engaged Sir Richard Hawkins for the post, not knowing whether Button would be available, as he was employed as admiral in the Irish Seas, "that afterwards by your Lordship's mediation Sir Thomas Button was content to undertake the charge he now holdeth, which God knows I laboured for no other end than for the security and advancement of His Majesty's service by reason of the experience I have had of his ability and sufficiency.

"Since that time I have doubled that injury: a wrong was offered unto him which cannot be denied; he patiently appealed to me for justice, which I must confess I denied him; but the reason of the person that offered the wrong, and the reasons why I denied him justice, I must leave unto Sir Richard Hawkins and Sir Henry Palmer to relate unto your Lordship; and if those will not give your Lordship satisfaction, I must humbly submit myself to your Lordship's censure.

"Notwithstanding the impressions that these injuries woke in him, yet thus much must I truly confess in his behalf, that there was no man more zealous to advance His Majesty's service, nor

[1] Indebtedness must be acknowledged to "England in the Mediterranean," by Julian S. Corbett; and to the Notes by M. Oppenheim on Monson's Naval Tracts. Mr. Corbett—an accomplished historian, not to be misled by wild *ex parte* effusions—does full justice to Sir Robert Mansel, deprecating the uninformed and indiscriminate censure of his contemporaries and others. The MS. marginal notes on the printed edition of John Button's journal, by John (afterwards Sir John) Coke, one of the commissioners for the Navy, are obviously tainted by strong animus; they are of no critical value, and in one or two instances indicate a lack of appreciation of the circumstances. Coke alludes more than once in contemptuous terms to the "hostentation" indulged in by Mansel, meaning the exchanging of gun-salutes, etc., with the Spaniards; but this kind of "hostentation" was obligatory upon Sir Robert under the terms of the king's instructions, which bade him use all honour and courtesy towards the King of Spain's officers.

forward to undergo any danger or hazard than himself, whereof he hath given an assured testimony to the world."

Mansel proceeds to cite some instances in which Sir Thomas Button especially distinguished himself, from which it appears that his nephew, John Button, was in command of the boats of the *Rainbow* during the attack at Algiers, and goes on:

"My Lord, I must protest unto your Lordship that I had no ends of my own for the injuries done to Sir Thomas Button, and therefore your Lordship cannot cast a greater honour upon your poor servant than in repaying him, which I humbly beg of your Lordship.

"If Sir Richard Hawkins do return unto me, then I shall be an humble suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of Sir Thomas Button, that he may return to his employment in Ireland, from whence in my earnest desire to enjoy his company and association, I was the only means to withdraw him; and that he may receive such allowance and entertainment as was formerly usually paid unto him, by which means your Lordship will take away the curses of his children, whose bloods are near unto me." [1]

The nature of the injury which Sir Thomas Button had sustained remains obscure, but, judging by Mansel's letter, it must have been serious. Button resumed his command in the Irish Sea on his return from the Mediterranean, and held it for the remainder of his active life. He was a member of the Council of War in 1624, and in the following year was on a commission to enquire into the condition of the Navy; they appear to have recurred every few years. Button was in constant hot water with the Navy Board, but Buckingham was always his friend, and saw him through his troubles. He died in 1634.

After his return from Algiers Sir Robert Mansel does not appear to have been offered any further command at sea; he was on bad terms with Buckingham, and he occupied himself, as we have seen, mostly in the development of his glass business, though he appears in 1624 to have made a proposal for the conversion of two

[1] Harley MSS., 1581, fol. 76.

hundred merchant vessels into men-of-war, by adding double decks, with loopholes, at a cost of £30,000.[1]

On May 12, 1624, in a letter from Locke to Carleton, appears the statement, "Sir Edward Cecil and Sir Horace Vere are going to their charges, and Sir Robert Mansell and Sir Thomas Dutton (? Button) to sea."[2]

It does not appear, however, that Sir Robert undertook any duties afloat at that time, for on April 21 he had been appointed a member of the Council of War.[3]

This Council was appointed by the king to assist him in preparing for war for the recovery of his son-in-law's principality of the Palatinate.

James was incited to this enterprise greatly by the urgency of Count Ernst Mansfeld, an illegitimate son of the holder of that title. Mansfeld was a mercenary, and a leader of mercenaries, ready to sell his services to the highest bidder; but he must have been a man of ingratiating personality, as James received him with cordiality and honours, and the people cheered him in the streets.

James entered into an engagement to supply him with 13,000 men, and £20,000 a month, on condition that the King of France should furnish a similar force; the joint army could then be used for the recovery of the Palatinate and the Valteline, a small state, which was the scene at this time of many contests for its possession.

On April 15 commissioners had been appointed to treat with the Dutch about sending troops to their assistance, and on the 18th orders were given to fit out twelve ships of the Royal Navy.[4]

Concerning the money supplies for this expedition there arose much contention, in which Sir Robert Mansel, as a member of the

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[1] Cal. State Papers, 1623-1625; p. 239.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[3] State Papers, Dom., James I. Vol. cxiii., no. 18. The other members were Viscount Grandison (formerly Sir Oliver St. John), Lord Carew, Lord Brooke, Lord Chichester, Sir Edward Conway, Sir Edward Cecil, Sir Horace Vere, Sir John Ogle, and Sir Thomas Button.

[4] Cal. State Papers, 1623-1625; p. 217.

Council of War, and also a member of Parliament (for Glamorganshire) was involved.

King James died on March 27, 1625, and Charles, who had been very active, in conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, in endeavouring to bring about his own marriage with the Infanta of Spain, found himself saddled with the thorny problems thus passed on to him by his father. The Spanish marriage scheme had broken down, and even before this was finally accomplished, negotiations were in train for Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria, sister to the French king; there was dispute with France as to the object of the joint enterprise, questions of religion, of concessions to or penalties to be laid upon Catholics, and other points of controversy, which need not be entered upon here. The subject of ways and means with regard to the fleet in particular, and the difficulty of finding money for all purposes of the proposed war, brought about hot debates, accusations, and recriminations between the Council of War, Buckingham, and the Commons.

The accounts of the debates in the Commons Journals are so scrappy and bald that it is not easy to realise from them what all the fuss was about; there is, however, a volume published by the Camden Society,[1] which throws more light upon the matter.

In his preface to this book, Mr. Samuel R. Gardiner gives a terse and lucid summing-up of the situation: "Buckingham's schemes for a continental war on the largest scale far outstripped the sober requirements of the old King (James). There was an engagement for a joint expedition with the French, under Mansfeld, against the Palatinate, costing England £20,000 a month. There was an engagement for a subsidy of £30,000 a month to the King of Denmark, to enable him to take the field in the north of Germany. There were plans for sending ships to attack Genoa, and an army to besiege Dunkirk. And all this on the simple faith that when Parliament

[1] "Debates in the House of Commons in 1625," edited by Samuel R. Gardiner (the well-known historian), compiled from MSS. in the library at Fawsley, the place of Sir Rainald Knightley. Mr. Gardiner, in his "History of England," refers to this volume very obscurely as "Fawsley Debates"; by a lucky chance its identity has been discovered by the present writer, but so experienced a writer as Mr. Gardiner should have been more precise in his references.

met it would vote the enormous sums needed to carry out a policy far wilder than that of which every independent speaker had expressed his decided disapprobation. The failure of Mansfeld's expedition, and the rumours of the concessions made to the Catholics in the treaty of marriage, were undoubtedly not without their weight with the Commons when they met for the first time under the new reign."

The Duke of Buckingham, in a long statement delivered August 9, 1625, declared that the late king had thought fit to have a royal fleet set forth; that he, Buckingham, then conferred with the Council of War; that they talked of the war, and then of the means; that he hardly ever spoke of the business but with them; that he never came to town without meeting them, "nor resolved of anything but in their company."

On the following day Sir Robert Mansel, in the House of Commons, said: "That there was no true and judicious course taken in our proceedings at this time. Would have no question put, yet offered £200 of his own fortune. Then fell to justify his own proceedings; whereas there had been speech of consultation with the Council of War, he was not at any debate since February last, where some generals were propounded but nothing concluded. When he heard the direction given for 10,000 men, he refused to deliver his opinion in the presence of Sir John Coke, being no Counsellor of War, nor of State. Yet he thought that proportion to no purpose, being such as would gall the enemy rather than hurt him; and doubted not but to offer a proposition which shall produce such effects as will procure the restitution of the Palatinate. Afterward my Lord Conway told him the resolution would admit no debate. Their advice was asked only concerning 2,000 arms. He answered, that he protested against the business itself."

Sir Robert was not, of course, upon good terms with Sir John Coke, and so would not recognise his right to be included in the deliberations of the Council of War.

On the following day, August 11, on the statement that the north coasts were much infested with pirates, Mansel said that if this were referred to the Council of War they would undertake to redress it, or else answer it with their lives; upon which another member.

Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Glanville, asserted that "the King's ships do nothing, going up and down feasting in every good port," a statement which was confirmed by one Mr. Shervil, of Plymouth; to which Mansel replied (somewhat enigmatically) "that the directions were nought, and that all the dangers grew by our ignorant courses."

There followed implications by several members that the merchants were not receiving that protection in the Narrow Seas to secure which they paid tonnage and poundage; and Mansel pointed out that the defence of the kingdom was one of the considerations mentioned in the last act of subsidy.

"Sir Francis Seymour: 'Let us lay the fault where it is due; the Duke of Buckingham is trusted, and it must needs be either in him or his agents.'

"Sir Robert Phillips: 'It is not fit to repose the safety of the kingdom upon those that have not parts answerable to their places.'"

(Sir Robert Phillips here enunciated a truism which is, most unhappily, only too frequently ignored!)

On August 12 Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor-General, alluded to Sir Robert Mansel's speech, in which he had traversed the statements of Buckingham, declaring that the members of the Council of War were constantly consulted, and that divers plans were submitted to the king. "It is true that Sir Robert Mansel was full of meditation upon his own devices, which, though they seemed probable to himself, did not give others much satisfaction. In February he gave over upon discontent, and there be those that can witness that he said, if he might not have his own desire, he would meddle no more with the business. Afterward he never came to the Council. . . ."

Mansel, in reply, said that he had protested against a plan which had been discussed; and as to his own plan, "My Lord Chichester gave his opinion of it; my Lord Cary put it off, and at that time my Lord Admiral spake with as good judgment as ever he heard. That after, when it was presented to the Lords again, they rejected it, telling him he must repair to my Lord of Buckingham, who only had Commission from the King to consider of new propositions. But he, having received an injury from my Lord Buckingham (by procuring a lease in reversion over his head),

would not go to him any more . . . and this was about February last ; " etc.

Mansel thus apparently permitted his personal animus against Buckingham to prevent him from attending at the sessions of the Council of War, which was surely not a very wise or dignified proceeding.

In the further course of this passage of arms between the solicitor-general and Mansel, the latter apparently permitted his somewhat hot temper too much scope, for which he was called before the Council and reprimanded.[1]

All these bickerings and discontents had no great result, after all, and we do not find Sir Robert much to the fore in naval affairs afterwards. There appears to have been an idea in some quarters that Buckingham was badly treated by Mansel, for in a letter from one John Drake to his cousin James Bogg, Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, Drake " doubts not but he has heard how the Duke has been dealt with by Sir Robert Mansel and others. Hopes he will bear up in despite of all his enemies." [2]

Mansel was, however, probably quite honest and sincere in his attitude, and perhaps injured himself more than others by his somewhat choleric declamations.

He appears, after these episodes, to have found himself rather at a loose end, and to have experienced some chagrin over his exclusion from participation in the active management of the Navy and other affairs, for Sir Thomas Button, writing to Captain John Pennington (who commanded the *Zouch Phœnix* on the Algiers expedition) on March 26, 1620, " wishes him to write sometimes to Sir Robert Mansel, who holds himself neglected by all men in present employment." [3]

Mansel was, however, in favour with King Charles, as he had been with James, and was called upon to perform the ceremony of naming several new men-of-war at launching, in the king's name.

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[1] For particulars of these incidents, see " Debates in the House of Commons in 1625 " (Camden Society), pp. 115, 117, 118, 122, 147, 162.

[2] Cal. State Papers, 1625-1626 ; p. 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

He had always favoured the building of larger ships, and was perhaps associated in some measure with Phineas Pett in the design of the *Sovereign of the Seas*.

This vessel was much larger than any previously laid down, and was much talked about at the time.

She was laid down in 1635, and was ready for launching, at Woolwich, at the end of July, 1637. September 25 was at length fixed for the operation: but the tide failed to come up to their expectations, and the launching gear gave way under the strain. It was then resolved to launch her at the following spring-tides, on Sunday, October 14; but on Saturday night, the tide rising unexpectedly high, and the ship being nearly afloat at three-quarter flood, Pett called his men out and successfully launched her; so that when all the officials and guests who had been summoned for the event arrived on Sunday, they found the big ship safely moored in the stream.

Sir Robert Mansel had been hastily summoned from Greenwich to christen the ship, but he arrived too late to perform the ceremony, as is usual, just before she left the launching ways, so she was named when lying off in the river—an uncommon, perhaps an unique episode.

The *Sovereign of the Seas* was the "Dreadnought" of her time, and there was great enthusiasm about her. She was a three-decker, but was subsequently, in 1652, cut down to a two-decker, and her guns reduced, as she had been found "crank" under sail.

James Howell, in one of his "familiar letters," addressed to Simon Digby, Esq., at Moscow, writes: "I have other news to tell you, we have a brave new ship, a Royal Galleon; the like, they say, did never spread sail upon salt water; take her true and well-compacted symmetry, with all dimensions together; for her burthen, she hath as many tons as there were years since the Incarnation, when she was built, which are sixteen hundred and thirty-six," etc.

In the year 1626 King Charles, with his customary fertility of expedient in raising money among his subjects, sent letters round to all the justices of the peace, directing them to point out to the people in their respective counties that it was their duty, lovingly,

freely, and voluntarily, to supply money which had been refused by Parliament as a subsidy; but he carefully caused those justices who were likely to be opposed to this measure to be dismissed; and Sir Robert Mansel was one of these—not at all to his discredit.

On February 2, 1629, a muster is ordered, before Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral of England, of all the watermen belonging to the Port of London; the grand total is 2,453.[1] At the same time a general survey was taken by Mansel of all ships in the Port of London, with their burthen, ordnance, age, owners, and masters.[2]

On June 15 and 16, 1631, Mansel accompanied King Charles upon a visit of inspection of all the ships at Chatham. "The King and Sir Robert Mansel went aboard every ship, and almost into every room in every ship. There was no office in any ship that His Majesty went not into himself, and into the holds of most of them. He afterwards beheld and counted the ordnance belonging to every vessel, which lay ashore marked and sorted for His Majesty's view. He then went to the dock at Chatham, and visited all the rooms and storehouses there, and saw the making and tarring of the cordage. The Lords Commissioners have got great honour by this survey. There is now not a thought of a Lord Admiral. The progress will be agreed on next week. The King resolves to go to Portsmouth, but the time is not yet appointed."[3]

The Duke of Buckingham had been assassinated in 1628, and no successor had been appointed: the office of lord high admiral was from that time invested in a commission, with Edward Nicholas as secretary, an arrangement which held until the year 1638.

It is worthy of note that Sir Robert Mansel is here alluded to in State Papers as "Lieutenant of the Admiralty," and not as Vice-Admiral of England; there does not appear to be any warrant or other document conferring this different title or office, or terminating Sir Robert's tenure of the older title; he received a fee of ten shillings per day as Lieutenant of the Admiralty.[4]

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[1] Cal. State Papers, 1628-1629; p. 467.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 484.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1631-1633; p. 90.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

In 1632 there was reorganisation in respect of the strength of the crews of men-of-war, and Mansel was called upon to take a prominent part in this business, being one of a commission—upon which his name stands first—appointed for the purpose. There are several allusions to the proceedings of this commission, and Sir Robert was apparently engaged in measuring the ships, which would appear to indicate that the complement of men was to be based upon the tonnage.

On May 30 Nicholas writes to Captain John Pennington: "Sir Robert Mansel and his party are measuring the King's ships, but Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Henry Mainwaring, and the Trinity House are agreed, and have subscribed what they conceive concerning every ship's numbers of men, but they keep it to themselves."[1] (Mainwaring and Digby were members of the Commission.)

On July 5, 1632, Sir Kenelm Digby writes to Sir John Coke, formerly a member of the Navy Commission, but at this time one of the principal Secretaries of State: "Yesterday they had a meeting with Sir Robert Mansel, and after long debate concluded they should deliver their opinions severally to His Majesty concerning the numbers of men for his ships. This day Sir Robert intends to speak to the King about it. Wishes Coke to tell the King that the Trinity House men (with whom the writer concurs) have been ready ever since a week after His Majesty laid his command upon them, but forebore presenting their opinions to His Majesty to give way to Sir Robert Mansel for measuring the ships, which being done and Sir Robert not making use of it for this service (but for some other sinister end, as the writer conceives), they beg the King to assign a time when they shall attend him."[2]

There is obviously some animus here on Digby's part, and he was sure of the accord of Sir John Coke, who had for years entertained a dislike of Mansel. For what "sinister end" Sir Robert could utilise his measurement of ships it is not easy to conceive; it looks like a piece of pure spite.

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[1] Cal. State Papers, 1631-1633; p. 340.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 373.

The report of this commission, however, hung fire in an unaccountable manner, for it was not yet delivered in February, 1633, though it had been ordered for a fortnight after the appointment of the commissioners. There appears to have been some underlying dispute or intrigue in the matter: one cannot imagine a number of capable men, with the assistance of expert advice, requiring nearly twelve months to arrive at an opinion upon such a matter—though commissions, to be sure, are wont to drag out wearily; more especially when the members are in receipt of special fees for their services.

On June 17, 1637, Mansel was once more made member of a Council of War. The king, in his letter to the newly-appointed commissioners, states that he appoints them "to consider such particulars as concern the securing of his realms, the assisting of his allies, and all other matters concerning war. They are to consider the strength of the enemy, their likely attempts by sea or land, and in what parts to make the surest defence, and with what ships to make offence; also what aids to demand of His Majesty's allies, and to have regard to the well husbanding of his treasure; to examine all offences touching martial affairs, to consider the ability of officers to be employed, to advise of the best courses for the well ordering the trained bands, and to consider all actions and propositions concerning war."[1]

This imposing effusion was, however, nothing better than one of Charles's futile tirades; he had already aroused bitter resentment by the imposition of the ship money, which was to secure to England the sovereignty of the seas, and had been coquetting with Spain over a half-hearted scheme for the recovery of the Palatinate to his nephew: but he did not mean business, and all his proposed enemies or allies were well aware of the fact.

There is no evidence whatever of any business being accomplished by this Council of War, and in the Calendar of State Papers for the year 1638 it is not even alluded to. King Charles was destined very shortly to find too much to occupy him at home to admit of any foreign wars or conquests.

[1] Cal. State Papers, 1637; p. 224.

In 1642 it was suggested to the king by Sir John Pennington —Mansel's old captain in the Algiers expedition—that Sir Robert Mansel should be placed in command of the fleet. This command had been offered to Pennington; the Earl of Warwick was then in command, having been there placed by the Earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, against the king's expressed desire. The king now resolved to displace Northumberland, and despatch Pennington to supersede Warwick in the Downs, where the fleet lay. Pennington, however, demurred, saying that he was in disfavour with Parliament, and his journey to the Downs would certainly arouse comment, and so prevent the achievement of the king's contemplated *coup de main* towards Warwick: he "propounded to His Majesty that he would send a letter to Sir Robert Mansel, who lived at Greenwich, speedily to go to the fleet and take charge of it; and that his authority (being Vice-Admiral of England), and his known and great reputation with the seamen, would be like to meet with the least resistance. His Majesty, imparting this counsel to those whom he had made privy to his purpose, entered upon new considerations; and concluded that Sir Robert Mansel's age (though his courage and integrity were unquestionable), and the accidents that depended upon that, would render that expedient most hazardous." [1]

This is the last we hear of Sir Robert in connection with the Navy; other references in the years immediately preceding deal only with the questions arising out of his glass business, which has already been related.

Sir Robert was M.P. for King's Lynn in 1601, Carmarthen in 1603, Carmarthenshire in 1614, Glamorganshire in 1623 and 1625, Lostwithiel in 1626, and Glamorganshire in 1627-8.

As has already been noted, Sir Robert's death is mentioned in the Common Council Book of Newcastle as having occurred in 1653; such an entry is good evidence, as the record is of the nature of a journal, and no error could creep in as to the year; it may possibly have been wrongly transcribed by the author of the "History

[1] Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion" (Clarendon Press, 1888). Vol. ii., p. 219. Mr. W. W. Mansell, though he gives the reference to Clarendon, places this incident in 1626!

of Newcastle," but this appears improbable. On the other hand, administration of his estate was granted to Elizabeth, his widow, in June, 1656, and it appears strange that this should have been deferred for three years. There is, however, nothing further to be ascertained on this point; his widow died before 1663.

Sir Robert Mansel has been much praised in some quarters, and severely condemned in others. It cannot be doubted that he was possessed of some excellent traits of character—courage, generosity, enthusiasm in whatever enterprise he might be engaged upon, and the capacity for winning the esteem and affection of those who served under him, without derogation from his authority over them. He was undoubtedly of a hasty temper, which on more than one occasion got him into trouble; but he was not malicious or vindictive, though he perhaps permitted a slight or injury to rankle overmuch, and colour his conduct sometimes.

With regard to the conduct of his public life, whether as commander at sea, or in office on shore, biographers and historians have displayed a tendency to run to extremes.

The two family historians, especially Mr. W. W. Mansell are unduly laudatory, as also is Mr. G. T. Clark, completely ignoring every record in which blame is attributed to Sir Robert, and attaching perhaps too much weight to the utterances of such unstable gossips as Sir Anthony Weldon and Bishop Goodman.

On the other hand, those more precise historians who have had recourse to the official records, while they can scarcely be blamed for their deductions—which are, indeed, sufficiently palpable—have been somewhat over-harsh in their condemnation, and especially so with regard to the Algiers expedition, with the exception of Mr. Corbett.

To maintain that Sir Robert was absolutely blameless in his capacity of Treasurer of the Navy would be absurd—there is unfortunately only too strong evidence to the contrary; but some allowance should perhaps be made for him in consideration of the atmosphere in which he lived.

It is a truism, which no one will question, that "two wrongs cannot make one right"; but, paradoxical as it may appear at first

sight, an hundred wrongs may in a measure condone the offence of an individual.

At the time when Mansel became Treasurer of the Navy, the whole administration of government was almost incredibly corrupt; all the indictments laid by the commission of 1608 against the naval officials were true of all other departments; everyone was "out" to get what he could at public cost. King James was too notoriously averse to any "unpleasantness"; he liked to have pets about him at court, good-looking lads in particular, with whom he would pass his time, and did not want to be bothered with the details of this or that office; his laxity speedily spread to his various officials, and hence a hotbed of corruption.

Had Mansel made a stand against these practices in his own department, had he successfully reformed abuses, and inaugurated a new and wholesome *régime*, he would certainly have received, and merited, very high commendation, for the task would have been no light or pleasant one; it appears therefore reasonable to make some excuse for him, in that he did merely what others all round him were doing.

As for Northampton's censure and condemnation—well, that noble earl was not precisely in a position to cast stones very freely at others. He had all his life been a schemer, an intriguer, ready to exploit his fellow-men when opportunity presented itself; and a few years after he had contrived the Navy Commission, indeed, at the very time when he was indignantly denouncing Mansel for withholding, as he alleged, the seamen's wages, and was urging a second inquiry chiefly aimed at Sir Robert—at this very time he was scheming for the divorce of his great-niece from her young husband upon false premisses, and was concerning himself in the imprisonment and foul murder of an innocent man, for venturing to protest against the iniquities of the king's protégé and his mistress, Lady Frances Howard.

No; there was no condemnation of a man's character in the hatred of the Earl of Northampton.

However, a sincere attempt has been here made to give a true and unbiassed account of Sir Robert Mansel, and there it must be

left; he had his faults and his virtues, like the rest of us, and no doubt was highly regarded by many of his contemporaries.

Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, gives us some particulars as to Sir Robert Mansel's place of residence in Norwich. In Bedlam Street (formerly named Over or Upper Newport, because it leads to the New Port, or St. Giles's Gate) there was a house named the Committee House. Blomefield in a footnote, says: "This was the house of Sir Robert Mansel, Knt., Sir Nat. Bacon, Knt., Sir Roger Townsend, Knt., and Judge Windham, and in Henry the Sixth's time, the Lady Morley's." (Vol. iv., p. 235.)

It appears also, from the same authority, that Sir Robert was granted a lease, in 1596, of Chapel (or Chapley) Field Croft, with a "cherry yard," which had formerly been held by Justice Francis Windham, with the stipulation that, should he or his wife (formerly wife of Justice Windham) die before the lease expired, the remaining term should go to Nicholas Bacon, Esq. (*Ibid.*, p. 224.)

Sir Robert, at his death, was described as "of Greenwich" and in Hasted's "History of Kent—Blackheath Hundred" it is stated that "a tenement called the Bowling Green, having [illegible] six rooms, a little barn and stable at the N.W. end of Blackheath . . . was demised by Francis Earl of Rutland as High Steward of the Manor, 19 Feb., 1629, to Sir Robt Mansel, Wm Alington, [illegible] Mason, John Roper, John Vaughan Esq. and others for 40 years" (p. 63, note). John Roper was probably brother to Sir Robert's second wife, Elizabeth Roper (sometimes named Anne).

[Mr. R. G. Maunsell (p. 4) has the following: "Sir Robert Mansell, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, and some other branches, bore, or, three maunches sable, on a chief, gules, a lion passant [illegible] of the field. The chief and its charge were granted by the Earl of Essex, in consequence of the gallant conduct displayed by Sir Robert at the siege of Cadiz in 1596, when he also knighted him."

Mr. Maunsell, as usual, refrains from giving any authority for the statement that Sir Robert bore this coat-of-arms, but, whoever supplied the information, it is erroneous.

The shield in question was granted to Francis Mansell, of Guildford, Surrey, merchant, February 14, 1664-5, by Sir Edward

Walker, the well-known Garter king-at-arms of Stuart times, in reward of his faithful and loyal services to King Charles II.; the incident will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

It is curious that, in Joseph Foster's "Grantees of Arms" (Addit. MSS., 37, 147), the shield is said to be charged with three *manacles* (*i.e.*, handcuffs); but the original register at the College of Arms has been consulted, and plainly indicates three *maunches;* there is also an interesting crest, a ship of the period in full sail, with one mast, flags, and pennons, argent St. George's cross gules: on the stern three royal crowns or. The appropriateness of this crest will be realised when the story is told.]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Gabriel Ogilvy's Pedigree

(Translated from the French)

GEOFFREY MANCEL, a Norman, whom du Moulin mentions among notable men of Normandy, took part in the conquest of England. He had two sons, namely: Gilbert or Geoffrey, and Walter or Gauthier. In 1121 he witnessed a charter of Ranulf, Earl of Chester.

WALTER MANSEL, in 1066, gave to the priory of Tickford, co. Bucks, two virgates of land which he held in Solebury. He had two sons, John and Ralph (*Mon. Angl.*, p. 202 b. 203 b. vol. v.) by his marriage with Hawisia (la Roque, *Histoire de Harcourt*, vol. iv., p. 2293).

RALPH MANSEL, co. Bucks, holding one fee of Gervaise Paynel, was a benefactor of the Priory of Tickford. He had six sons: Savar, Gilbert, Roger, Simon, William, Hugh, by his marriage with Cecilia (*id.*). In 1165 he held one and a half knight's fee in Staffordshire and in Hertfordshire (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, [illegible] p. 141, 1[illegible]).

RICHARD MANSEL, "Mansellus Cenomannicus" gave in 1088 to the Priory of Brecknock, founded by Bernard de Novo Mercato, one carucate of land in Wales (*Mon. Angl.*, vol. iii., p. 259 b).

GUERIN MANSEL gave to the monastery of Couches in Normandy the hall of the land of Ruilboil in the fee of Ralph de Tocny (Saint Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. ii., pp. 139, 141). He had three sons: William, Guerin, Richard.

WILLIAM MANSEL held in 1165 two parts of a knight's fee of Henry de Novo Mercato in Gloucestershire (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, [illegible] p. 169). Robert Mansel, [illegible] the Archbishop of York [illegible] p. 141). He and Richard [illegible] to [illegible] his [illegible] land [illegible]

PHILIP LE MANCEL, nephew of Sir Henry de Harley, who gave him the manor of Anwick in Glamorganshire, took part in the Conquest of England in 1066. He married N— de Montsorrel, and had five sons: Henry, Robert, Michael, Andrew, and Philip.

PHILIP MANSEL, named Arsaldarius, married Mabel d'Erbois, Lady of the Manor of Mugel in North Petherton (Collinson, *History of Somerset*, vol. iii., p. 72).

HENRY MANSEL (De la Roque, *Histoire de la Maison de Harcourt*, vol. ii., p. 1960).

ANDREW MANSEL (*Rotulus Misericordiae*, manuscript, p. 426).

JOHN MANSEL (*Rotuli Curiae Regis*, p. 426).

PHILIP MANSEL.

THOMAS MANSEL (*Rotuli de Oblatis*, p. 411, *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, p. 374).

ANDREW MANSEL.

HENRY MANSEL.

GUERIN MANSEL, 1165, grandson of Richard Mansel of Gloucestershire, died in Normandy. His name appears in the Great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, 1180, with those of Aubray, Ralph, Gilbert, John Foulques, Ranulf, and William "Mancell, Mansel."

In 1184 GILBERT MANSEL had the concession of Escorcheville (*id.*).

In 1195 ROGER LE MANSEL du Comté de Mortain (*id.*).

In 1198 JEHAN MANSEL, knight, is witness to a charter of William de Mauzet for the Abbey of Ardennes (*Archives*, [illegible]).

SAYER MANSEL of Chicheley, co. Bucks, married the sister of Hugh d'Aunay, Lord of Turvey, co. Beds, and of Maidford. He had three sons: Samson, Roger, William. The last was Lord of Erdington in Warwickshire, and father of Emma, Lady of Erdington, who married first, Henry de Harcourt; second, Richard de Pipe. Sayer gave to the Marmoustier monks of Newport his farm of Cuculmecho.

SIR JOHN MAUNSELL, knight, Lord Chief Justice of England under Henry III. (Betham's *Baronetage*, vol. i., p. 250). His derivation is doubtful.

PHILIP MANSEL

THOMAS MANSEL, knight bannerret, perished in the Barons War at Northampton in 1264. He was the ancestor of the Mauncells of Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Limerick.

WALTER MANSEL.

ROBERT MANSEL.

In 1204 WILLIAM MANSEL was one of the knights of Comte de Mortain who took the oath to Philip Augustus, King of France (Du Chesne, *Historia Normanorum*, p. 1050).

SAMSON MANSEL of Chicheley, co. Bucks. Held of the [illegible] Richard [illegible] son [illegible] Richard [illegible]

WILLIAM MANSEL. He had two [illegible] William, John (Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. [illegible]; *History of the Exchequer*, Madox, vol. i., p. 105).

JOHN MANSEL of Chicheley, co. Bucks, married Johanne, widow of [illegible] Thickthorn.

JOHN MANSEL, in Berkshire 1208 (*Rotulus de Oblatis*, p. 462; *Rotulus Cancellarii*, p. 71).

SAMSON MANSEL of Chicheley, co. Bucks, [illegible] Bucks [illegible] Mansel [illegible] Cosgrave and [illegible] Mallon, co. Northampton.

WILLIAM MANSEL, Knight Bannerret of England, temp. Henry III. (*Rotulus Cancellarii*, p. 33).

[1] There appears to be some confusion here, as there is no son Robert indicated above, and yet he is alluded to as Richard's brother. This demonstrates the uncertainty of Gabriel Ogilvy's genealogy.

APPENDIX II

Relating to Margam Abbey

The Bull of Pope Urban III. to the Abbey of Margam, confirming various grants and benefactions to the Abbey, and setting forth the liberties, duties, and obligations of its inmates in divers matters as follows :

Freedom from tithes and first fruits for their cultivated and uncultivated lands, either vines or fodder.

Free reception and retention of clerks and laymen "fleeing from the world."

No professed brother to depart without the Abbot's licence.

No one to harbour such an one, whether monk or otherwise, who is liable to be sentenced if detained.

Prohibition of theft, rapine, arson, arrest, manslaughter and violence within the precincts of the Abbey and the granges.

Lands and benefices to be dealt with only by assent of the chapter, or of the greater and wiser part thereof. If not, the proceedings to be void.

No professed monk or convert to become a surety, or borrow a loan beyond the amount fixed by the chapter, except when the house is manifestly in need of it. Otherwise the convent shall not be responsible.

Brethren shall be capable of giving evidence in civil and criminal causes.

Holy oil to be supplied to them without charge for consecration of altars or churches, ordination of monks, etc.

Freedom from synods, foreign meetings, lay courts, etc.

No one to molest them in their election, institution, or removal of an Abbot.

If the bishop of the diocese refuse to bless the new Abbot, yet this Abbot, if a priest, may bless his novices and perform other duties appertaining to his office, until the bishop abates his refusal and blesses him.

The bishop to be contented with the customary profession by the Abbot.

No one to interdict or anathematise their neighbours or servants for assisting them at work on holy days; nor their benefactors for charitable help.

Power to absolve and communicate any one of the "family" if at point of death, although he be excommunicated or under interdict for detention of tithes, etc.

Any sentence promulgated by a bishop against their person or monastery contrary to their privileges to be void.

Perpetual confirmation of all liberties, Papal immunities, and Royal and other exemptions from secular taxes.

No one to molest the Abbey, carry away the property, retain, or diminish it; but to preserve the same, saving the authority of the Holy See.

A denunciation of those who oppose, and blessing on those who keep the bull.

The deed is dated at Verona, November 18, 1186, and is ratified by the Pope and twelve cardinals. ("History of Margam Abbey," pp. 57 *et seq.*)

THE ABBOTS OF MARGAM

There is no complete list of the Abbots of Margam; the following is an approximate register, compiled from various sources by Mr. G. T. Clark.

WILLIAM.	Died (or resigned) 1153.
ANDREW.	Died December 31, 1155.
C——.	Attests a Charter, 1167-1170.
JOHN.	1170.

CONAN.	1182. Was Abbot October 29, 1187, when the Bishop of Llandaff consecrated the altar of the Holy Trinity at Margam.
ROGER.	1196-1203.
GILBERT.	1203; died (or resigned) 1213.
JOHN OF GOLDCLIFF.	1213 (Goldcliff was a religious house at the mouth of the Usk). Witnessed a charter in 1234. Died August 24, 1237.
JOHN DE LA WARRE.	1237 to 1250, when he ceased to be Abbot; was elected Bishop of Llandaff, 1253; died 1256.
THOMAS DE PERTTHIWET.	1267.
GILBERT.	About 1270.
THOMAS.	Mentioned as party to a convention, 1307 or 1308.
JOHN DE CANTELO.	1321.
HENRY.	1338: attests charters in 1350, 1358, 1359, 1360.
JOHN.	1367 (?).
DAVID.	1413.
WILLIAM MEYRICK.	1417: attests charters 1421.
THOMAS.	1423: mentioned in a charter, March 3, 1443.
JOHN HAMLYN.	1425.
WILLIAM.	1441 (?).
THOMAS FRANKELEN.	1450: attested a charter 1451.
WILLIAM CORNTOUN.	Mentioned in deeds 1470, 1486, 1489.
DAVID.	Mentioned 1509, 1514, 1517.
JOHN.	1519; was party to an indenture, May 14, 1525.
LEWIS THOMAS.	1534. Probably the last Abbot, who was pensioned at the Dissolution 1537.

Twenty-five abbots, covering a period of about 385 years; some, however, are doubtful, as is indicated. Probably there are not many unaccounted for.

David, of 1509, was apparently not a model abbot, as he is said to have had several natural children, mentioned in some local pedigrees; but perhaps it was a calumny.

(Summarised from G. T. Clark's "Contribution towards a Cartulary of Margam," Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, vol. xiii., p. 313.)

SCHEDULE OF THE PROPERTY OF MARGAM ABBEY AT THE DISSOLUTION

(*From Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII., vol. iv., p.* 351)

(Arabic numerals have been substituted for the Roman numerals in the original)

Grangia—In primis terris grangie £10. Whitecrosse 6s. 8d. Little Stormy 13s. 4d. Llanmythin £10 13s. 4d. Grene Downe £3 6s. 8d. More Grange £6 13s. 4d. Lystellabon 40s. - - - - -	£33	13	4
Redditus Assise—In primis Havodporthe £26. Kenfigg £3. Pyle £4. Tethigsto 53s. Horgro 53s. Court Colman £6. Laliston £7. Bouvilstone £19. Resowlen £4. Llangynwr £3 6s. 8d. Penllyne 23s. -	78	16	8
Tithyng Barnys—In primis Llangonoyd 40s. Kenfigge £6. Penllyne £6 13s. 4d. Laliston £6 13s. 4d. Glyncorrocke £5 6s. 8d. - - - -	25	13	4
Myllys—In primis Glydacke 20s. Shyppys Myll 20s. Myll of St. Mychael 40s. Myll of Garrowe 26s. 8d. Grykys Myll 13s. 4d. - - - - -	6	0	0
Fermys of Whete—In primis Llangewythe £12. Stormy £6. Tangeluste 40s. Sanct Mychele £6. Tangeluste 10s. 8d. Whitecrosse 26s. 8d. Nogecourt 53s. 4d. Nogecourt 40s. - - - -	32	10	8
Tithying Wall, lamb, chese, and fe of Cadogan is feld - - - - - - -	12	0	0
Summa totalis	£188	14	0

Deductions

In primis to the Kyng is grace 40s.

(Disallo' quod non fit mentio quare)

To my Lorde Herbert, stuarde there - - -	£3	6	8
To John Thomas Vaghan, Auditor there - -		40	0
To John Leyson, baylyf - - - -		40	0
To the chyrche of Llandaf (a) - - -		46	8
To the Abbot Tewxbury (a) - - - -	3	0	0
To the Archdeacon (a) - - - -		6	8
In almose (a) - - - - -		40	0
In almose (a) - - - - -		40	0
In obytts for our founder (a) - - - -	4	0	0
To 6 almose men yerly (a) - - - -	10	0	0
[(a) Disallo' causa predicta]			
Summa	7	6	8
Decima inde		14	8
Et remanet clare	181	7	4
Decima inde	18	2	9

The deductions, it will be noted, are nearly all "Disallowed because mention is not made why"; also, the arithmetic is inaccurate in two instances—the total for "Tithyng Barnys" should be £26 13s. 4d., in place of £25 13s. 4d.; and that of "Redditus Assise" is one shilling in excess; so that the total is in reality gross £189 15s. 0d.; net £182 8s. 4d.

APPENDIX III

Pedigree of the Wife of Philip Mansel of Oxwich

Godfrey, Earl of Brioney and Aucensis, base son of Richard, second Duke of Normandy of that name, had a son, Gilbert, Earl of Brioney, in Normandie, slain by Rafe Wacio (1033). His son, Richard Fitzgilbert, Lord of Tunbridge and Clare by the gift of William the Conqueror, married Rose, dau. of Walter Gifford, Earl of Longevile, who was son of Osbert, Viscomte Bulbecke, by Dunoria, sister of Genore, Duchesse of Normandie. Their son was Gilbert FitzRichard, Lord of Clare and Tunbridge in King Henry firste tyme, who married Alice, dau. of the Earl of Claremont, in France, and had two sons, viz., Richard, first Earl of Clare, and Gilbert, surnamed Strongbowe, created Earl of Pembroke by King Stephen. He married Eva, daughter and heir of Dermutius Marcharchi, King of Leinster, and had a dau., and heir, married William Marshall, the elder, Earl of Pembroke, whose dau., and eventual co-heir (with her sister, Eva, who married William Brause), Isabel, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hartfoade. Richard the eldest son, and first Earl of Clare, and brother of Strongbow, died 1136, leaving a son Roger Earl of Clare, whose son, Richard Earl of Clare and Harford, married Amicia, dau. and heir of William Earl of Gloucester, and their son, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hartfoade and Gloucester, married Isabel, dau. of William and sister and co-heir of Annselme Earl of Pembroke, and their dau. Agnes married Rise Greege, Lord of Comot Mawre, son of the Lo. Rice, Prince of Demicia, and had a son, Yerworth, who married the dau. and heir of Killan, and had a son Sr. Guyan Benarowe, Knt. Lo. of Killan, in Wales, whose son, Howell, was father of Llewellyn ap Howell, whose dau., Ellena, married Rise ap David ap Rise ap Howell Vechan ap Howell ap Rise foell, and their son Jenkyn married Anghared, dau. of Griffith ap Rice, and their daughter and sole heir Jane, married Griffith ap Nicholas, whose daughter and heiress, Mabella, married Philip Mansell, of Oxwich and Penrice.

(Compiled from the pedigree by Ralph Brooke; *vide* R. G. Maunsell's book, Appendix 84.)

APPENDIX IV

The Will of Sir Rice Manxell, Knight

(THE LANGUAGE HAS BEEN MODERNISED)

20 *Dec.* 1 *Mary.* 1553

To all true Christian people to whom this present writing indented quadripartite containing therein the last will of one Sir Rice Manxell Knight made the twenty day of December in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Mary by the grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland defender of the faith and in earth of the church of England and also of Ireland the supreme head concerning divers my manors lands tenements rents reversions services and other hereditaments being at the time of the making of this my last will such parts and portions of my said inheritance as I may lawfully declare and make my will of according and by [illegible] the statutes lately made for the affirmance and corroboration of wills to be made of lands tenements and hereditaments, I the said Sir Rice sendeth greeting in our Lord God Everlasting.

Whereas all my said lands tenements and other hereditaments do at this present extend and amount to the yearly value of eight score pounds or near about the same, know me the said Sir Rice minding as well the quietness of Cecil my wife and provision for the preferment of the marriage of my children and other persons for whom duty and nature doth compel me to provide, as also for the payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies given and bequeathed by my last will and testament concerning my lands and tenements do make and ordain this my last will in manner and form following, that is to say: I the said Sir Rice Manxell do leave to descend in possession unto Rice Manxell son of Philip Manxell son of me the said Sir Rice Manxell for a full third part of all my manors lands tenements and hereditaments, and in recompense of the fulfilling and in performance of all such covenants as have been had or made between me the said Sir Rice Manxell of the one part and Sir John Bridges Knight of the other part bearing date the tenth day of October in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign Lady Queen Mary, the manor of Tythegisto, the grange and manor

of Horgro, the grange or manor of Llangewyth, the manors of Porteynon and Nycholaston with all and singular their appurtenances within the County of Glamorgan; of which said manors I the said Sir Rice Manxell do now stand seized in my demesne as of fee tail to me and to mine heirs males of the body of me the said Sir Rice and of one Ann my late wife now deceased begotten and to be begotten, with certain remainders thereof over according as it is before by me entailed by an estate by me said Sir Rice executed and made: and further I the said Sir Rice Manxell do will and devise that my executors and assigns shall have take and perceive the yearly issues rents revenues and profits of the manors of Oxwich and Horton with their appurtenances in the lordship or dominion of Gower in the county of Glamorgan, until such time as my said executors or assigns shall or may of the issues, revenues, rents and profits coming rising or growing, of the said manors of Oxwich and Horton have received taken or had the sum of three hundred marks of lawful money of England, for and towards the performance of my last will and testament concerning my goods. And after the said sum of three hundred marks thereof levied received and had by my executors or assigns as aforesaid, then I will that in consideration and in recompense of the performance of the said covenants articles and agreements which afore this time hath passed and been had between the said Sir John Bridges and me the said Sir Rice, that the said manors of Oxwich and Horton with their appurtenances shall remain come and be unto the said Rice Manxell son of the said Philip, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Rice Manxell son of the said Philip lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for default of such issue of the body of the said Rice Manxell, son of the said Philip lawfully begotten, to the heirs males of the body of me the said Sir Rice Manxell lawfully begotten upon the body of Cecil my wife, and for default of such issue begotten upon the body of the said Cecil by me the said Sir Rice Manxell, to the heirs of me the said Sir Rice of my body lawfully begotten. And for default of such issue of the body of me the said Sir Rice Manxell lawfully begotten, to the right heirs of me the said Sir Rice Manxell Knight for ever: Provided always and mine intent is, that all leases of any of the premises by me hereafter to be made for term of life lives or years reserving the accustomable rent or more, shall stand good and effectual, and the rents and reversions of the same shall go and be as is above expressed. And further I the said Sir Rice Manxell do will and devise, that immediately after my decease, that Mary Manxell widow late the wife of Philip Manxell, my son, shall have occupy and enjoy all that my manor of Penrice with the appurtenances in the lordship or dominion of Gower in the said county of Glamorgan, to have and to hold the said manor of Penrice with all

and singular their appurtenances unto the said Mary Manxell for and during her natural life; and after her decease the said manor of Penrice with the appurtenances to remain, come and be unto the said Rice Manxell son of the said Philip, and the heirs males of the body of the said Rice Manxell, son of the said Philip lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for default of such issue of the body of the said Rice Manxell, son of the said Philip lawfully begotten, to the heirs males of the body of me the said Sir Rice Manxell lawfully begotten upon the body of the said Cecil my wife; and for default of such issue begotten upon the body of the said Cecil by me the said Sir Rice Manxell, to the heirs of me the said Sir Rice of my body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue of the body of me the said Sir Rice Manxell lawfully begotten, to the right heirs of me the said Sir Rice Manxell Knight for ever. And further my will is that when the said Rice Manxell son of the said Philip Manxell shall come and be of the full age of twenty-one years, that he the said Rice Manxell son of the said Philip then shall have the possession and occupation of the said manor of Penrice with the appurtenances during the natural life of the said Mary Manxell his mother yielding and paying yearly the annual rents and revenues of the same manor of Penrice unto the said Mary Manxell during her said natural life. In witness whereof to every part of this my present will quadripartite indented as well I the said Sir Rice Manxell, as the said Sir John Bridges Knight have put to our seals the day and year above written.

(Signed) JOHN BRYGGYS. RES MANXELL.

CORRECTED DRAFT OF THE WILL OF SIR RICE MAUNXELL, KNIGHT, RATIFYING, EXPLAINING, AND ADDING TO HIS WILL OF DECEMBER 20, 1 MARY, 1553.

18 *Sept.* 5 *and* 6 *Phil. and Mary.* 1558

In the name of God amen. the eighteenth day of the fifth and sixth years of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady King Philip and Queen Mary and in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fifty and eight.

I Rice Maunxell Knight being perfect in mind and remembrance do make and ordain my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. That is to say first I commend and bequeath my soul to Almighty God to our Blessed Lady and to the whole Company of heaven.

Item I do by this present Testament ratify and confirm the

Will quarter-partite by mine own hand signed and sealed whereof two parts thereof remaineth in mine own custody and one of the other two parts remaineth in the hands and custody of my Lord Chandos,[1] and the other part remaineth in the hands and custody of Dame Mary Dorell [Darell] now married to Mr. Henry Ffoscue, all which parts beareth one date that is to say the 20th day of December in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Mary according to the tenor intent effect and true meaning thereof without altering any part or article therein, and I will that the one part of the said two parts of my said Will now remaining in mine own custody shall immediately after my decease be delivered to my son Edward Maunxell and remain in his custody and the other part to remain in the custody and keeping of my son Anthony Maunxell.

Item I will that my son Edward Maunxell shall content and pay the full and entire sum of £400 at the font in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London at the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next after my death or else so soon as the same sum of £400 may be conveniently levied of the rents and profits of all my lands and farms at Michaelmas and of all my debts and duties and also of all my goods and chatells to my son Anthony Maunxell and towards the payment thereof I will he shall receive and take up all the said rents and revenues and profits of all and singular my manors lands tenements leases and farms whatsoever they be due unto me the said Sir Rice Maunxell knight now at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel being in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundredth fifty and eight and also all and singular debts and duties whatsoever they be due and payable to me the said Sir Rice Maunxell and if the said rents revenues and profits debts and duties do not amount to the sum of four hundred pounds then I will that my said son Edward Maunxell do levy and make of all my goods and chatells that now I have as much money as shall want of the said sum of £400.

Also I give and bequeath to my said son Anthony Maunxell two hundred and fifty pounds to be paid unto him in manner and form following Viz., yearly fifty pounds at the feast of Philip and James at the font of the parish church of Margam in the county of Glamorgan between the hours of nine and twelve of the clock in the forenoon of the same day until such time as the full sum of £250 be fully paid.

Item I will bequeath and devise to my said son Anthony Maunxell all those my lands tenements with all and singular their appurtenances commonly called Crostey and all and singular other

[1] Edmund Bridges, second Lord Chandos. Sir John Bridges, named in the will of 1553, created Baron Chandos 1554, died 1557.

my lands and tenements by what name or names soever they be called and known situate lying and being within the lordship of Talvan in the county of Glamorgan to have and to hold all and singular the premises with the appurtenances unto the said Anthony Maunxell his heirs and assigns for ever.

Item I give and bequeath to my said son Anthony Maunxell all that my farm or farms called Boverton alias Berton farm and Lanwythe with all the stock and store now going in and upon the same and all that my mill called Lantwytt Mill with all my right title estate and term of years that I have to come in the premises or in any part or parcel thereof, together with the leases and writings that I have concerning the same or any of the same. Also I give and bequeath to my said son Anthony all my estate title interest and term of years that I have of in and to the parsonages of Lantwytt, Lanblythian, Lanttryssent, Pennmerke, and Cardiff, with the tithes of corn and hay pertaining to the Chapel of St. Donat, and all my estate term title and interest that I have in any parsonages rectories tithes glebe lands offerings profits and commodities of the demise grant and lease of the late abbot and convent of the late suppressed monastery of Tewkesbury together with the deeds leases and writings concerning the same parsonages tithes and other the premises or any of them.

Item I will that my said son Edward Maunxell shall receive and take all the rents revenues issues and profits of all the manors lands leases farms and tenements within the county of Glamorgan or elsewhere within the realm of England the which I have or ought to revert descend and come to him after my decease [illegible] the City ?)[1] and part of Margam and the demesne of the same and except the jointure of Dame Jane Maunxell, wife to the said Edward Maunxell and such lands and tenements as Mary Ffoscue late wife of Philip Maunxell deceased hath appointed to and bequeathed unto her for term of her life by me the said Sir Rice Maunxell. And also I will notwithstanding my former bequest to my said son Anthony that the said Edward Maunxell shall receive levy and take all the yearly rents issues and profits of all and singular the lands farms mills and parsonages before bequeathed to the said Anthony Maunxell saving always the £250 before bequeathed unto him and also saving unto the said Anthony £20 yearly of the said lands and farms bequeathed unto him to receive and take to his own use for his living and finding and to be assigned unto him by . . . Stradling Knight and . . . Bassett Esquire: and I will that the said Edward [illegible] receive the rents and farms aforesaid after such yearly rate and [illegible] as the said . . . Stradling Knight and . . . Bassett Esquire shall

[1] "Scytie" in the original.

value the said moneys lands leases and farms unto without impairing the stocks of any of them in anywise or at any time, and without setting letting granting over or encumbering them or any of them for any longer time or term than for so long time as he is appointed by this Will to receive and take the rents farms and profits of the same and of the stock going upon the same for this intent and until such time as he the said Edward Maunxell shall or may conveniently levy and make so much money of the rents issues and profits of all the said lands and farms and the said stock as well which he himself shall have as which he bequeathed to my son Anthony except before excepted after the rate and value aforesaid as will discharge content and pay all the legacies and bequests except such legacies as be given and appointed to any person for term of lives; after which sum of money so levied and made or after the time the same might have been levied and made with the profits of the said manors lands tenements leases farms and all the premises after the rate and value aforesaid I will my son Anthony shall have his lands leases farms and mills in such form and sort as I have before bequeathed them unto him.

I will and bequeath to my daughter Mary Maunxell the sum of six hundred marks of good and lawful money of England to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage or as soon after as the same may be levied of the yearly rents issues and profits of all the manors lands tenements farms mills and leases aforesaid. And if my said daughter Mary happen to die before she be married then I will that four hundred marks parcel of the said 600 marks shall be paid to such persons by my said son Edward Maunxell his executors or assigns and in such sort and form as my said daughter Mary shall will the same to be paid unto and the other 200 marks I will to my daughters Katherine Bassett and Elizabeth Morgan to every of them one hundred marks. Item I will to my niece Mary Maunxell daughter to my brother Philip Maunxell the sum of one hundred marks of good and lawful money of England to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage over and besides the bequest made to her by her father.

Item I will to my nephew Harry Maunxell the son of Philip Maunxell aforesaid £10.

Item I will to my nephew George Maunxell the sum of £6 13 4.

Item I will to my nephews Thomas Maunxell, Leonard Maunxell, Edward Maunxell, and William Maunxell to every of them the sum of £3 6 8.

Item I will to my niece Elizabeth Love the sum of £3 6 8.

Item I will to my niece Margaret wife of Richard John David Morgan, Elinor wife of Randolph Purcell, and Katherine wife of

Richard ap Owen to every of them one ring[1] of gold of the value of 20 shillings.

Item I will to my nephews, that is to say: to Arnold Bassett and William Fleming the sum of £28 to be paid in manner and form following, that is to say to every of them both yearly 40 shillings at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel or within 30 days after until they of the said sum of £28 be fully satisfied and paid the first payment of the said £28 to begin at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next and immediately after my decease.

Item I will to my sister Fleming the sum of £10.

Item I will to my nephew Richard Owen the sum of £10.

Item I will to Harry Rogers the sum of £5.

Item I will to Harry Rogers' wife £3 6 8.

Item I will to Elizabeth . . . the sum of 40 shillings.

Item I will to Thomas Lewis of the Whyte More the sum of 20 shillings.

Item I will to Gytto Johns the sum of 6s. 8d.

Item I will to John Lewis the sum of 20 shillings.

Item I will to William Johns the sum of 6s. 8d.

Item I will to Yorathe Gytto the sum of 6s. 8d.

Item I will to Alys of the Towen 6s. 8d.

Item I will to Sisile Hugh the sum of £3 6 8.

Item I will to Mrs. Jane Lewis a gown of taffeta which was my wife's and 20 shillings in money.

Item I will my servants Rhys Edwards and Jevan Jenkins to every of them five marks.

Item I will to all the rest of my household servants their wages due unto them at the time of my decease be well and truly paid unto them and one years wages more to every of them the same and wages more to be paid in so convenient time as the same may be levied over and besides one livery coat to each of them.

Item I will to all my servants retainers 10 shillings a piece and a livery coat to every of them.

Item I will to my servant Thomas ap Hoell one annuity of 40 shillings by the year during his life.

Item I will and bequeath to my servant Randolph Purcell one annuity of 40 shillings by the year during his life.

Item I will and bequeath to my servant David Thomas Lloyd one annuity of 40 shillings by the year during his life.

Item I will and bequeath to James Pattice one annuity of 20 shillings by the year during his life.

Item I will and bequeath to William Towe one annuity of 20 shillings during his life.

[1] "Rygge" in the original.

Item I will and bequeath to the Vicar of Lantwytt that now is the sum of 40 shillings.

Item I will and bequeath to be bestowed on the poor people of the parish of Margam the sum of £5 to be bestowed and divided at the discretion of my son Edward Maunxell.

Item I give and bequeath to every household of the poorest people of the parishes of Clerkenwell St. Anne our Lady Stamyndes (?) and of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew 12 pence apiece.

Item I give and bequeath to the Church of Margam the sum of £5.

Item I will and bequeath to the Church of St. Hilary the sum of 40 shillings.

(Here follow bequests to the churches at Marcrosse, Llantrythyd, Oxwich, Penrice, Nicholaston, and Porteynon of 20 shillings each.)

Item I give and bequeath to the Lady Jane Maunxell wife to my said son Edward an upper habilment of goldsmiths work a gown of purple cloth of silver a gown of green velvet and a gown of black velvet.

Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Katherine Bassett a gown of black damask and an ale cup with a cover of silver gilt.

Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Morgan a gown of damask and an ale cup with a cover of silver gilt.

Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Maunxell a crimson velvet gown the second black velvet gown that were my wife's and a satin gown, a tester of a bed of purple damask with the furniture of the same bed with curtains panelled with yellow satin and crimson velvet with the feather bed bolster and all other furniture belonging to the same; a diamond pointed which the queen's majesty gave to my wife a brooch with a cross of turquoises a tablet laid with stones and a pair of beads of gold with an ale cup and a cover of silver and gilt and my wife's wedding burgge (?).

Item I will and bequeath to my son Anthony a tester of a bed of tawny velvet a tester and curtains of a bed of russett and yellow satin with the furniture of the said bed an ale cup with a cover of silver and my wife's signet ring.

Item I give and bequeath to my niece Elizabeth Hopkins a gown of black damask.

Item I give and bequeath to my niece Mary Maunxell one gown of taffeta and a tablet which was my wife's.

Item I give and bequeath to David Lewis £6 13 4 which he owed me.

Item I give and bequeath to Hugh David ap Jevan 46 shillings and 8d. which he owed me; all which legacies and bequests I will

the said Edward Maunxell shall truly pay and discharge as soon and in as convenient time as the same may or can be levied and paid.

Item I give bequeath and devise to my son-in-law William Bassett all that my house and garden sett lying and being in the Castle Bailey of Cardiff now or late in the tenure and occupation of one Roger Balye to have and to hold the same to him and to his heirs for ever.

Item I give and bequeath to my said daughter Mary Maunxell immediately from and after my decease all the yearly rents revenues and yearly farms profits and commodities whatsoever they be coming growing rising or renewing in and upon my manor of Laleston with all and singular their appurtenances sett lying and being in the county of Glamorgan and of in and upon my farm and mill commonly called Tuckandie with the profits of the stock going and being upon the same sett and being in the said county of Glamorgan or in and upon any part or parcel thereof without selling minishing and impairing the same stock for and towards her finding and maintenance during all the time that she shall be sole and unmarried. And as soon as and immediately after my said daughter Mary fortune to be married or happen to die before she be married as God forbid, then I will as well the yearly rents revenues profits and commodities of my said manor of Laleston with the appurtenances as all the yearly rents revenues profits and commodities coming rising growing in and upon my farm and mill called Tuckandie or any part or parcel thereof and the stock going upon the same land and during the term of 20 years next and immediately following the decease or marriage of my said daughter Mary as aforesaid to be employed and bestowed by my son Edward Maunxell and his heirs during the said term of 20 years then by the executors or administrators of him in the finding and maintenance of one honest and learned man to teach instruct and bring up in learning the children of both my sons Edward and Anthony and the children of my daughter Mary if they happen to have any, and the sons of my daughters nephews and nieces, and three or four of the aptest children of my tenants all which children as well of my said sons and daughters nieces and nephews as of my tenants to be taught within such convenient place within the town of Margam as shall seem good to my said son and to be found at the proper costs and charges of their parents concerning their diet and apparel; and I will that my said son and Edward Maunxell his heirs and assigns shall willingly suffer the said honest and learned man to teach in the said place and the said children freely to come and be there during all the said time and term of 20 years and help further and maintain the keeping of the said learned man and also the instructing and teaching of the children. And after the death or marriage of my said daughter and the expiring and ending of the said term of 20 years then I will that

my said manor or lordship of Laleston with all the parts parcels members appurtenances and commodities thereof shall descend to my said son Edward Maunxell and to his heirs for ever. And all the years and term then remaining in the said farm of Tuckandie and the stock of the same to remain and be to my said son Edward Maunxell and his assigns.

Item I will and bequeath to my said son Edward Maunxell all that my lease and term and years yet enduring which I have in the farm of Nasshe Clayhall and Bakers Land which I hold of Sir Thomas Stradling knight of his manor of Nasshe with all the appurtenances sett lying and being in the county of Glamorgan with all the stock and store going in and upon the same.

Item I give bequeath and devise my house or houses garden or gardens which are situate and lying within a place called the Castle Bailey of Cardiff in the county of Glamorgan lately called Portalen's lands to my son Edward Maunxell and his heirs.

Item I give and bequeath to my said sons Edward Maunxell and Anthony Maunxell all that my lease and term that I have yet to come of and in one house situate and lying in the Old Bailey in London with all rents and profits thereunto belonging.

Item I will and bequeath the whole administration of all the goods chatells debts and legacies and the execution of the whole will and Testament of my brother Philip Maunxell and the administration of all such goods and chatells moveable and unmoveable which were his and that late was my sister Anne Maunxell's widow deceased executrix of the last Will and Testament of my said brother Philip in as ample and large manner as it hath been to me committed and even so I commit my interest and authority therein to my son Edward Maunxell for the better expedition and performance of this my last Will and Testament I will that all the rest of my goods chattels debts plate leases and other things not before bequeathed I give and bequeath to my son Edward Maunxell whom I ordain make and appoint my sole executor willing him to see this my Testament truly and faithfully performed in every behalf and in every article and clause contained therein. And I humbly beseech and desire the right honourable the Lord Pagett[1] now Lord Privy Seal the Viscount Montague,[2] Sir John Mason and Sir Thomas Stradling Knights to be the overseers of my said Will, to whom I will that relation be made by the said Sir Thomas Stradling . . . William Basset Esquire of their doings concerning the surveying and valuing of all my manors lands tenements and farms as abovesaid and the . . . said son to use the advice and counsell in all things concerning the same as to my said . . . shall be thought good.

[1] Sir William Paget, K.G., first Baron Paget of Beaudesert.

[2] Anthony Browne, K.G., first Viscount Montague.

THE LAST WILL OF SIR RHYS MANSEL

The tenth day of December in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland queen, Defender of the Faith etc., and in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight. I Ryce Maunxell Knight being in perfect memory do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First I commend and bequeath my soul to Almighty God. Also I the said Sir Ryce Maunxell do will and devise that immediately after my decease Mary Foskewe late the wife of my son Philip Maunxell Esquire deceased shall have and enjoy all that my manor of Penryce with the appurtenances situate and being in the lordship or dominion of Gower in the county of Glamorgan, to have and to hold the said manor of Penryce during her natural life, and after her decease the said manor of Penryce with the appurtenances to remain and come and be to the heirs male of the body of me the said Sir Ryce begotten and to be begotten, and for lack of such heirs male to the right heirs of me the said Sir Ryce for ever. And further I will that my son Edward Maunxell and his assigns shall have the possession and occupation of the said manor of Penryce with the appurtenances during the natural life of the said Mary, yielding and paying therefor yearly unto the said Mary or her assigns during the said time of the natural life of the said Mary such annual Rent and Revenues as upon a true survey made of the said Manor of Penryce by such as thereunto shall be appointed by the said Mary the yearly commodities and profits of the said manor of Penryce with the appurtenances shall appear to amount and come unto. Also I will and bequeath to my son Anthony Maunxell the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds to be paid unto him in manner and form following viz. yearly fifty pounds at the Feast of Trinity Sunday at the tower in the parish church of Margam in the county of Glamorgan between the hours of 9 and 12 of the clock in the forenoon of the same day until such time as the said full sum of two hundred and fifty pounds shall be fully paid. Item I will bequeath and devise to my said son Anthony Maunxell all those my lands and tenements with all and singular their appurtenances commonly called Crostey and all and singular other my lands and tenements by what name or names soever they be called or known situate lying and being within the lordship of Talwaye in the county of Glamorgan to have and to hold all and singular the premises with their appurtenances unto the said Anthony Maunxell his heirs and assigns for ever. Item I will and bequeath to my said son Anthony Maunxell all that my farm or farms called Bomerton *alias* Berton farm with all the stock and [illegible] now going in and upon the same and all my mill called Lantwitt

Mill with all my right title estate and term of years that I have yet to come in the premises or in any part or parcel thereof, together with the leases and writings that I have concerning the same, or any of the same. Also I give and bequeath to my said son Anthony Maunxell all my estate title interest and term of years that I have of in and to the parsonage of Lantwythe, Laublethyan, Lantrissent, Penmark, Cardiff with the tithe of corn and hay pertaining to the chapel of St. Donat and all my estate term title and interest that I have in any parsonages rectories tithes glebe lands offerings profits and commodities of the demise grants and leases of the late Abbot and convent of the late suppressed monastery of Tewkesbury together with the deeds leases and writings concerning the same parsonage tithes and other the premises or any of them. Item I will that my said son Edward Maunxell shall yearly receive and take all the Rents Revenues issues and profits of all my manors lands leases farms and tenements within the county of Glamorgan or elsewhere in the Realm of England the which shall or ought to revert descend and come to him after my decease, except the site and park of Margam and the demesnes of the same and except the jointure of Dame Jane Maunxell wife to the said Edward Maunxell and such lands and tenements as Mary Foscue late wife of Philip Maunxell deceased hath appointed and bequeathed unto her for term of her life by me the said Sir Ryce Maunxell, and also I will notwithstanding my former bequests to my said son Anthony Maunxell the said Edward Maunxell shall receive levy and take all the yearly Rents issues and profits of all and singular the lands farms mills and parsonages before bequeathed to the said Anthony Maunxell saving always and excepting the said sum of two hundred and fifty pounds before bequeathed unto him and also saving unto the said Anthony Maunxell twenty pounds yearly of the said lands and farms bequeathed unto him to receive and take to his own use for his living and finding to be assigned unto him by Sir Thomas Stradling Knight and William Bassett Esquire, and I will that the said Edward Maunxell shall receive the rents and farms aforesaid after such yearly rate and value as the said Sir Thomas Stradling Knight and William Bassett Esquire shall value the said manors lands leases and farms unto without impairing the stock of any of them in any wise or at any time and without selling letting granting over or encumbering them or any of them for any long time or term than for so long time as he is appointed by this Will to receive and take the Rents farms and profits of the same and of the stock going upon the same for this intent and until such time as he the said Edward Maunxell shall or may conveniently levy and make so much money of the Rents issues and profits of all the said lands and farms and the stock going upon the same as well which he himself shall have as which he

bequeathed to my son Anthony except before excepted after the rate and value aforesaid as well discharge content and pay all the debts which I owe to any person or persons and all the legacies and bequest in this Will expressed except such legacy as be granted and appointed to any person or persons for time of life and after with sum of money so levied and made or after the time the same may have been levied and made which the profits of the said manors lands tenements leases farms and other the premises after the rate and value aforesaid I will my son Anthony shall have his lands farms and mills in such form and sort as I have before bequeathed them unto him. Item I will and bequeath to my daughter Mary Maunxell the sum of six hundred marks of good and lawful money of England that is to say five hundred marks for her preferment in marriage and one hundred marks towards her furniture and other charge that shall grow by the same to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage or as soon after as the same may be levied of the yearly Rents issues and profits of all the manors lands tenements farms mills and leases aforesaid; and if my said daughter Mary happen to die before she be married then I will that four hundred marks parcel of the said six hundred marks shall be paid to such persons by my said son Edward Maunxell his executors administrators or assigns and in such sort and form as my said daughter Mary shall will the same to be paid; and the other two hundred marks I will to my daughters Katherine Bassett and Elizabeth Morgan to every of them one hundred marks. Item I will to my niece Mary Maunxell daughter to my brother Philip Maunxell the sum of one hundred marks of good and lawful money of England to be paid unto her the day of her marriage or as soon after as it may conveniently be over and beside the bequest made unto her by her father. Item I will to my nephew Henry Maunxell eldest son of Philip Maunxell aforesaid ten pounds. Item I will to my nephew George Maunxell the sum of £6 13 4. Item I will to my nephews Thomas Maunxell Leonard Maunxell, Edward and William Maunxell to every of them the sum of three pounds six shillings and eight pence. Item to my niece Elizabeth Love the sum of five pounds. Item I will my nieces Margaret wife of Richard John D. Morgan, Elinor wife of Randolph Purcell and Katherine wife of Richard ap Owen to every of them one ring of gold of the value of twenty shillings. Item I will to my nephews Arnold Bassett and William Flemyng the sum of twenty eight pounds to be paid in manner and form following that is to say to every of them both yearly forty shillings to be paid at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel or within 30 days after towards their exhibition and maintenance at their study and learning until they be of the said sum of £28 fully satisfied and paid: the first payment of the said twenty-eight pounds to begin at the feast of Saint Michael

the Archangel next after my decease. Item I will to my sister Elizabeth Flemyng the sum of ten pounds. Item I will to my nephew Richard Gwynne the sum of ten pounds. Item I will to Harry Rogers the sum of £8. Item I will to his wife £4. Item I will to Thomas Lewis of the White Moor the sum of twenty shillings. Item I will to Gilbert Johnes the sum of 6s. 8d. Item I will to Hopkyn Herd and his wife the sum of 6s. 8d. Item I will to Gitto Gough and his wife the sum of 6s. 8d. Item I will to John Lewis the sum of twenty shillings. Item I will to William Jones the sum of 6s. 8d. Item I will to Yorath Gilt the sum of 6s. 8d. I will to Alice of the Town six shillings and eightpence. Item I will to Cecil Hough the sum of three pounds six shillings and eightpence. Item I will to my servants Ryce Edward and Jenn. Jankyn to every of them the sum of five marks. Item I will to all the rest of my household servants their wages due unto them at the time of my decease to be well and truly paid unto them and one year's wages more to every of them the same year's wages more to be paid in so convenient time as the same may be levied over and besides one livery coat to each of them. Item I will to all my servant retainers 10s. apiece and a livery coat to every of them. Item I give and remit to David Lewis six pounds thirteen shillings and 4d which he oweth me. Item I give and remit to Hugh David ap Meredyth forty-six shillings and eightpence which he oweth me. Item I will to my servant Thomas ap Howell one annuity of forty shillings by the year during his life. Item I will and bequeath to my servant Randolph Purcell one annuity of forty shillings by the year during his life. Item I will and bequeath to James Pattid one annuity of twenty shillings by the year during his life. Item I will and bequeath to William Tewe one annuity of twenty shillings during his life. Item I will to the Vicar of Lantwitte that now is the sum of forty shillings. Item I will and bequeath to be bestowed on the poor people of the parish of Margam the sum of five pounds to be bestowed and divided at the discretion of my son Edward Maunxell. Item I will and bequeath to every householder of the poorest people of the parishes of Clerkenwell, St. Anne, our Lady Stanynges and of the parish of Little Saint Bartholomew 12d. apiece. Item I give and bequeath to the Church of Margam the sum of five pounds. Item I give and bequeath to the Church of St. Hilary the sum of forty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the church of Marcross the sum of twenty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the parish church of Nash the sum of twenty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the church of Llantrythid the sum of twenty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the church of Oxwich the sum of twenty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the church of Penryce the sum of twenty shillings. Item I give and bequeath to the church of Nicholaston the sum of twenty shillings. Item I

will and bequeath to the church of Porteynon the sum of 20s. Item I will to the Lady Jane Maunxell wife to my said son Edward Maunxell an upper habiliment of goldsmith's work, a gown of purple [illegible] of silver, a gown of green velvet, and a gown of black velvet. Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Katherine Bassett a gown of black damask and an ale cup with a cover of silver gilt. Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Morgan a gown of damask and an ale cup with cover of silver gilt. Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Maunxell a crimson velvet gown, the second black velvet gown, and a satin gown that were my wife's, a tester of a bed of purple damask, another bed with curtains payned [illegible] with yellow satin and crimson velvet, with a featherbed bolster and all other furniture belonging to the same, and a diamond pointed which the queen's majesty that dead is gave to my wife, a [illegible] with a cross of turquoises, a tablet laid with stones, a pair of beads of gold, an ale cup with a cover of silver gilt, and my wife's wedding ring. Item I give and bequeath to my son Anthony Maunxell a tester of a bed of tawney velvet, a bed of russet and yellow satin with the bed bolster and all the furniture belonging to the same, an ale cup with a cover of silver gilt, and my wife's signet ring. Item I will and bequeath to my niece Elizabeth Hopkyns a gown of [illegible] damask and a ring of gold and five marks in money. Item I give and bequeath to my niece Mary Maunxell one gown of taffeta and a tablet that was my wife's; all which legacies and bequests I will my said son Edward Maunxell shall truly pay and discharge as soon and in as convenient time as the same may or can be levied and paid. Item I give bequeath and devise to my son-in-law William Bassett all that my house and garden with the appurtenances lying and being in the Castle Bailey of Cardiff now or late in the tenancy and occupation of one Robert Bailey, to have and to hold the same to him and to his heirs for ever. Item I will and bequeath to my said daughter Mary Maunxell immediately from and after my decease all the yearly Rents Revenues and yearly farms profits and commodities whatsoever they be coming growing rising or renewing in and upon the manor of Laleston with all and singular their appurtenances set lying and being in the county of Glamorgan and of in and upon my farm and mill called Tuckandye with the profits of the stock going and being upon the same set and being in the County of Glamorgan or in and upon any part or parcel thereof without setting (letting or diminishing or impairing the same stock for and towards her finding and maintenance during all the time that she shall be sole and unmarried, and as soon as and immediately after my said daughter fortune to be married or happen to die before she be married then I will as well the yearly Rents Revenues profits and commodities of my said manor of Laleston with the appurtenances as all the yearly

Rents Revenues profits and commodities coming rising and growing in and upon my farm and mill called Tuckandye or any part or parcel thereof and the stock going upon the same for and during the term of twenty years next and immediately following the decease or marriage of my said daughter Mary as aforesaid to be employed and bestowed by my son Edward Maunxell, and if he die during the said term of twenty years then by the executors or administrators of him in the finding and maintenance of one honest and learned man to teach instruct and bring up in learning the children of both my sons Edward Maunxell and Anthony Maunxell and the children of my daughter Mary if they happen to have any and the sons of my daughters nephews and nieces and three or four of the aptest children of my tenants all which children as well of my said sons daughters nephews and nieces as of my tenants I will to be taught at such convenient place in the town of Margam as shall seem good to my said son Edward to be found at the proper costs and charge of their parents concerning their diet and apparel; and I will that my said son Edward Maunxell his heirs and assigns shall willingly suffer the said honest and learned man to teach in the said place and also the said children freely to come and be at school there during all the said time and term of twenty years and help further and maintain the best that he can conveniently may both the keeping of the said learned man and also the instructing and teaching of the said children. And after the death or marriage of my said daughter and the expiring and ending of the said term of twenty years, then I will that all my said manor or lordship of Laleston with all the parts parcels members and appurtenances and commodities thereof shall descend and go to my said son Edward Maunxell and his heirs for ever; and all years and term then remaining in the said farm of Tuckandye and the stock of the same to remain and be to my said son Edward Maunxell and his assigns. Item I will bequeath and devise my house or houses garden or gardens which are situate and lying within the Castle Bailey of Cardiff in the county of Glamorgan lately called Port Alens Lands to my son Edward Maunxell to have and to hold the said house and garden with the appurtenances to the said Edward Maunxell and his heirs for ever. Item I will and bequeath to my said sons Edward Maunxell and Anthony Maunxell all that my lease and term that I have yet to come of and in one house lying and situate in the Old Bailey in London with all Rents issues and profits thereunto belonging. Item I will and bequeath the whole administration of all the goods chattels debts and legacies and the execution of the whole Will and testament of my brother Philip Maunxell and the administration of all such goods and chattels moveable and unmoveable which were his and that late was my sister Anne Maunxell's widow deceased executrix of the last Will and

Testament of my said brother Philip Maunxell her husband in as ample and large manner as it hath been to me committed and even so I commit my interest and authority therein to my son Edward Maunxell. Item where William Bassett of Tregose deceased was bound by deed obligatory to me that my executors should occupy and maintain the manors of Bewpere and St. Hilary after my decease until such time as my said executors should levy thereof the sum of two hundred marks the same to be bestowed for the performance of my last Will, I do as well release and acquit William Bassett of Bewpere my son-in-law being son and heir to the said William Bassett of Tregose as well as the son specified in the said deed obligatory as also all the covenants and demands that I may or might require by any covenants specified in my indenture made betwixt me and the said William Bassett father of the said William Bassett of Bewpere that my son Edward Maunxell shall deliver the said obligation to the said William Bassett. Item I will that all the rest of my goods chattels debts implements plate leases and other things not before bequested I give and bequeath to my son Edward Maunxell whom I ordain make and appoint my sole executor, willing him to see this my Testament truly and faithfully performed in every behalf and in every article and clause contained therein.

In witness whereof I to this present Testament and my last Will I put to my hand and seal the day and year above written in the presence of Sir Thomas Stradling Knight, William Bassett Esquire, William Morgan gent. Richard Swynne gentleman with others.

APPENDIX V

The descents of ladies, other than heiresses, whom the Mansels have married.

FAMILY OF TURBERVILLE, OR TURBIDA VILLA, OF PENLLINE, Co. GLAMORGAN.

SIR PAYNE TURBERVILLE, d. 1200 = Sibylla, dau. and heir of Morgan ap Meurig ap Jestyn ap Gwrgant

SIR GILBERT TURBERVILLE of Coyty, *temp.* John = Agnes

SIR PAYNE TURBERVILLE of Crickhowel = Maud, dau. of Morgan Gam

SIR GILBERT TURBERVILLE, of Coyty, liv. 1258 =

RICHARD, ancestor of the Wilcock Turbervilles, of Coyty, Turberville = Maud, dau. and heir of Hopkin ap Howel Ychan, of Tigheston

HAMON TURBERVILLE of Tigheston, liv. 1326, 1329 = Agnes, dau. of — Tomkin, of co. Hereford

TOMKIN TURBERVILLE, of Tigheston and Penlline = Lucy, 3rd dau. and co-heir of Sir John Norris, of Penlline

WILLIAM = Matilda, mar. John Alger

GILBERT TUBERVILLE, of Penlline =

ELIZABETH = Richard Mansel of Oxwich, d. 1435

ARMS.—Chequy or and gules, a fesse ermine, a crescent for difference.

FAMILY OF BASSET OF BEAUPRE, Co. GLAMORGAN.

JOHN or JENKIN BASSET, of Beaupre =

JAMES BASSET, of Beaupre =

(1) ELIZABETH, dau. and heir. Died leaving no surviving issue

WILLIAM BASSET = Sir Rice Mansell, Knt., of Margam and Beaupre = (2) Anne, dau. of Sir Gyles Pridges, Knt., of Coberly, d. 1526

THOMAS BASSET 3rd son = Jenet, dau. and heir of Jenkin ap Thomas ap Jevan of Llantrithed

CATHERINE, who was given Beaupre on her marriage, by her father = WILLIAM BASSET, jun., of Beaupre, d. 1544

Elizabeth, dau. of Andrew Norton, of Bristow, by Ann, dau. of John Herbert, and sister of Sir George Norton of Abbot's Leigh, d. 1596 = JOHN BASSET, of Llantrithed, d. 1544

FAMILY OF CARNE OF NASH AND COWBRIDGE, Co. GLAMORGAN.

YNYR VYCHAN, Prince of Gwent, son of Meyric ap Ynyr; succeeded his brother Ithel =

IDDYN, Prince of Gwent =

THOMAS O'P CARNE of Pencarne =

SIR DEVEREUX CARNE =

SIR CHARLES CARNE =

THOMAS CARNE =

WILLIAM CARNE = Mary, dau. of Owen ap Caradoc ap Jestyn

SIR JOHN CARNE of Nether Gwent, Knight of the Sepulchre = Joan, dau. of Sir Thomas Norris

THOMAS CARNE = Mabel, dau. of Howel ap Iorwerth, of Llanforst

JOHN CARNE = Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Nicholas Poyntz

HOWEL CARNE, liv. 1488 = Tybote, dau. and co-heir of Alexander Giles of Nash

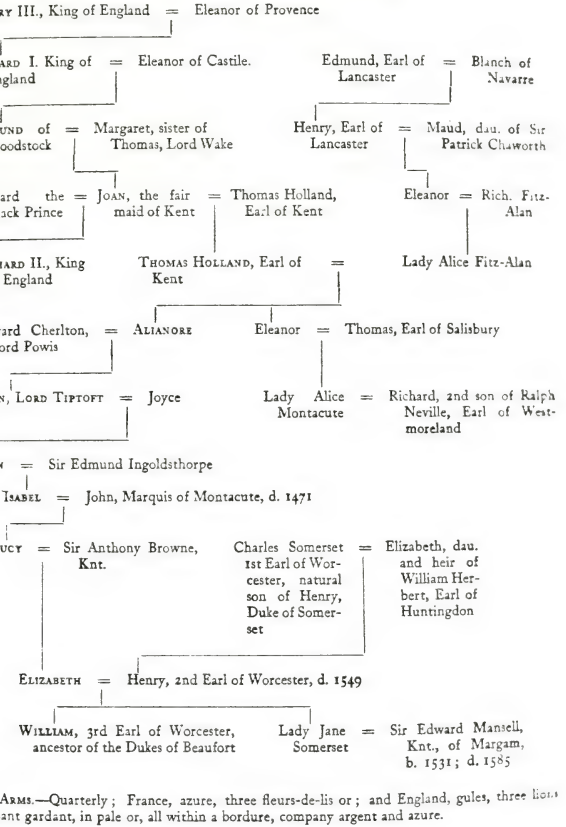
ARMS.—Gules, a pelican on her nest, with wings displayed, or, feeding her young and vulning herself, proper.

FAMILY OF CARNE OF NASH AND COWBRIDGE.—*Continued.*

A

- JOHN CARNE of Nash = Elizabeth, dau. of Howel Thomas ap Gwilim Jenkin of Gwent
  - HOWEL CARNE, of Nash = Cicil, dau. of William Kemeys, of Newport
    - RICHARD CARNE, of Nash = —, dau. of Jenkin Dalden
      - WILLIAM CARNE, of Nash = Elizabeth, d. u. of William Van, of Mercross
        - EDWARD CARNE, of Nash = Ann, dau. of Sir Edward Mansell, Knt., of Margam
          - EDWARD CARNE, jun., of Cowbridge = Ann, dau. of Richard Mansel, of Iscoed; mar. 1640
    - SIR EDWARD CARNE, of Ewenny, d. 1571 = Ann, dau. of Sir William Dennis
      - THOMAS CARNE, of Ewenny, d. 1602 = Elinor, dau. of Sir John Wyndham of Orchard
        - SIR JOHN CARNE, of Ewenny, d. 1607 = Jane, dau. of Sir Walter Hungerford of Farley
          - Mary = Anthony Mansel, of Iscoed, b. 1613; living 1666
          - JOHN CARNE, of Ewenny = Blanch, dau. of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar
            - (1) Mary, dau. of — Thomas, of Wenvoe = EDWARD CARNE of Ewenny =
              - Blanche, dau. and co-heir = JOHN CARNE of Nash
            - (2) Martha, dau. of Sir Hugh Windham of Pilsdon, co. Dorset
              - Martha, dau. and co-heir = Sir Edward Mansel of Margam, 4th Bart., b. 1636; d. 1706
            - Sir Roger Lort, of Stackpole = ANNE

FAMILY OF SOMERSET, EARLS OF WORCESTER.



ARMS.—Quarterly; France, azure, three fleurs-de-lis or; and England, gules, three lions passant gardant, in pale or, all within a bordure, company argent and azure.

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